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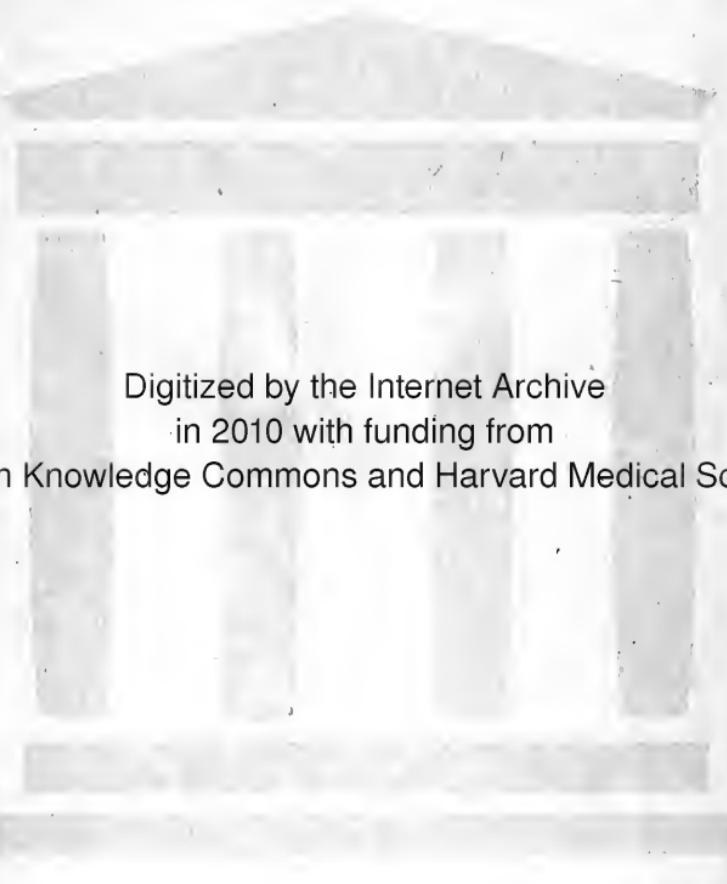
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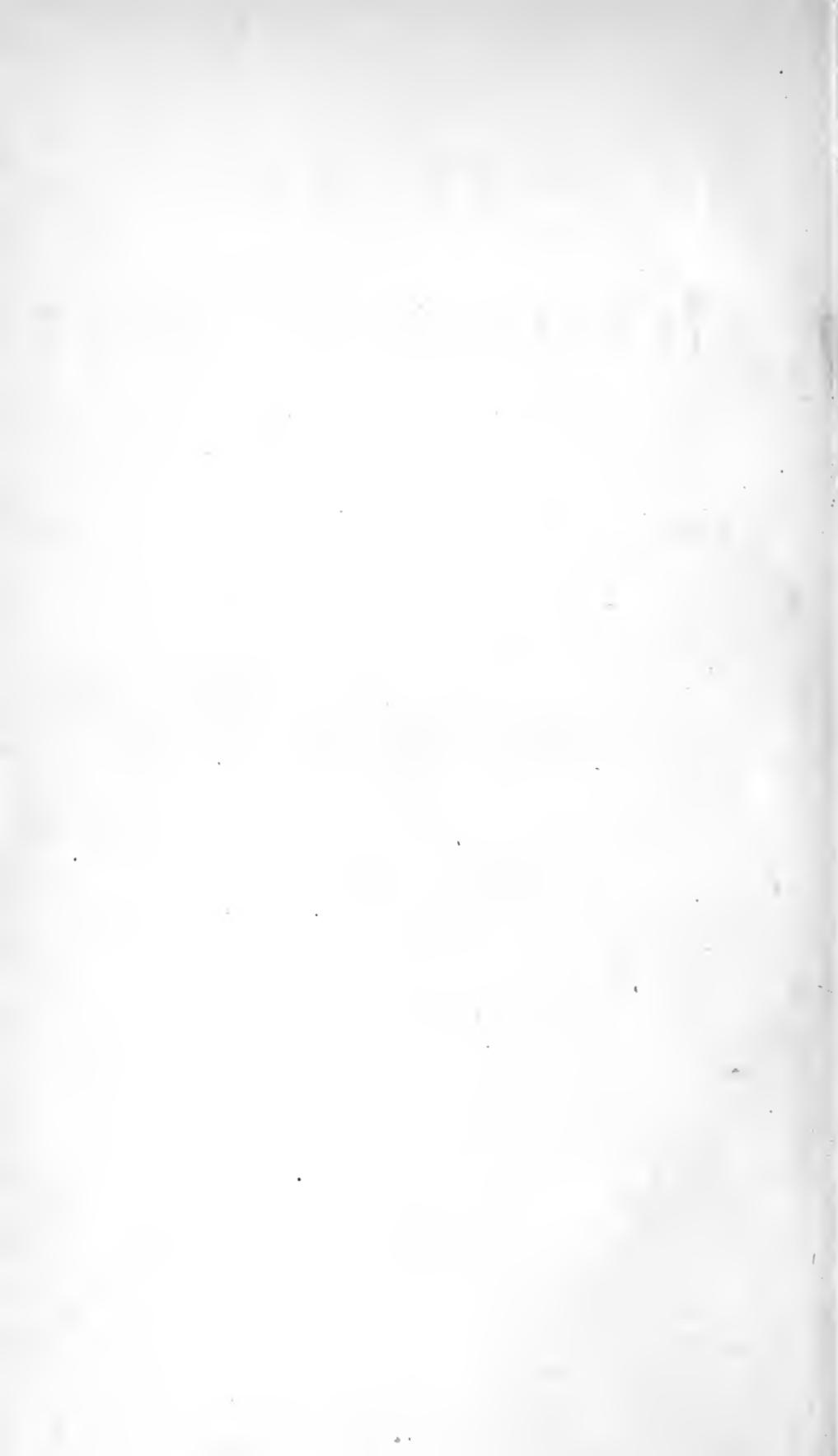
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HISTORY
OF
HOMEOPATHY:
Its Origin; Its Conflicts.

With an Appendix on the present state of
University Medicine.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE history of homœopathy is the indictment of the medical profession. A physician distinguished above his fellows for his services to medicine, chemistry and pharmacology, endowed with quite a phenomenal talent for ancient and modern languages, and well read in all the medical lore of past times, after mature thought and at a ripe age, announces to the profession that, as the result of years of arduous experiment, investigation and reflection, he believes he has discovered a therapeutic rule which will enable us to find the remedies for diseases with greater certainty and precision than can be effected by any of the methods hitherto taught. The reception which this announcement met with, and which was given to all Hahnemann's subsequent efforts to give certainty and scientific accuracy to therapeutics, is described in the following pages, and forms one of the most melancholy and deplorable episodes in the history of medicine.

Homœopathy having had its origin in Germany, and its founder having spent his long life chiefly in that country, it is natural to expect that the historical events of homœopathy have occurred chiefly, at all events primarily, in Germany. Hahnemann's active life was carried on in Germany, and his works were written in German or in Latin, which in his early days was the language often employed by medical and scientific authors.

The main incidents of Hahnemann's life and the chief sphere of his activity being Germany, the history of homœopathy is practically its history in Germany, and the task of writing it could most appropriately be undertaken by a fellow-countryman of Hahnemann.

How well Dr. Ameke has performed his self-imposed task, the English reader has now an opportunity of seeing. He has brought into full prominence the labours and industry of his hero before he commenced those investigations that led to his discovery of the therapeutic rule which he first enunciated as the general principle of medical practice. He clearly shows that Hahnemann was as far in advance of his chemical contemporaries in their special science, as he afterwards surpassed all his medical contemporaries in their special art. He also brings out the fact that Hahnemann, before his discovery of the homœopathic rule, had acquired a great reputation for his improvements in the practice of medicine, in pharmacology, and especially in hygiene, a branch of medicine which he may almost be said to have created. We see in this history the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, and especially by the Nestor of German physic, Hufeland, who never lost his respect for Hahnemann's genius and services to medicine even when he differed from him in opinion.

The high esteem in which Hahnemann was held by the most illustrious of his contemporaries contrasts remarkably with the unworthy treatment he received from the next generation of medical men, who knew him only as the propagator of a medical system, which, if it were true or even only partially true, must upset all the teachings and traditions of medicine. However we may regret, we cannot wonder at the desperate efforts of the supporters of Galenic medicine to discredit the new system which threatened the annihilation of all their most cherished doctrines and methods.

It must strike every unprejudiced observer as a very hopeless way of suppressing a novel system of therapeutics, to abuse and calumniate its author, to persecute its adherents by criminal processes, coroners' inquests, expulsion from medical societies, deprivation of hospital appointments, exclusion from periodical literature, and social and professional ostracism. One would think that the right way would be to afford them opportunities in hospitals to test its value side by side with traditional methods, to court discussion in societies and periodicals, to make careful experiments with the remedies and the mode of their employment recommended by its partisans, more especially as those partisans were the equals of the others in social and professional status—integral parts of the same professional brotherhood. That the dominant majority preferred the former plan, only shows that they were doubtful of the superiority of their own methods, which, nevertheless, they constantly vaunted as the only “regular,” “scientific” and “rational” ones.

Time has shown that Hahnemann was right at least in his condemnation of the cherished methods of traditional medicine, for we have seen them all abandoned one by one by the champions of orthodoxy, until nothing was left but blank nihilism, euphemistically called “expectancy.” After arriving at this zero, the mercury of medical opinion was bound to undergo a reaction, which we now see in the search for specifics (which, for the most part, are sought for and found in the homœopathic *materia medica*) ; the physiological experiments on man and beasts—but principally beasts—in order to discover the remedial power of drugs; the germ-theory with its corollary germicide medicines and methods; the tentative employment of new and powerful drugs, and the use of ice-cold bathing and other “anti-pyretics” in almost all diseases with heightened temperature.

As our old-school brethren have approximated so much to the teachings of Hahnemann, chiefly by abandoning what he disapproved, but also, to some degree, by adopting what he recommended, it might be expected that their hostility towards his professed adherents would have ceased. But this is far from being the case. The more they are indebted to homœopathy, the less do they seem disposed to admit its adherents to the full communion of brotherhood. They have so long abused and calumniated Hahnemann and his doctrines that they seem unable to give up their long-indulged habit. Not being able now to revile us for our disparagement of the methods they have themselves discarded, nor for our belief in the therapeutic rule of "*similia similibus curentur*," which they now generally acknowledge to be one of the methods of medicine, their sole grievance is that we call ourselves homœopathists (which we do not any more than they call themselves allopathists—we only accept the name for want of a better, to avoid circumlocution, and to indicate that we acknowledge a general therapeutic rule which our opponents do not), and thus commit the unpardonable sin of "trading on a name," an accusation which is manifestly absurd, as that is but a poor trade in which all the gains of the profession in the way of emoluments and honours are withheld from those who exercise it. What is considered a sin in us does not seem to be so regarded in their own ranks when used by oculists, aurists, gynecologists, ovariotomists, laryngoscopists and other specialists, who trade on a name to all intents and purposes, and are quite right in so doing. The objections to homœopathy being practically reduced to this fanciful charge, it is evident that the attitude of the representatives of traditional medicine towards their reforming brethren must soon change, and they must allow homœopathy to take its proper place in medicine. When that is the case, the history of the origin and the conflicts of

homœopathy will be read with interest by the school which now presents a hostile front to that of Hahnemann, for it will feel that it has purged itself of the reproach of opposing the truth by its late acknowledgement of its error.

My share in the work is that I have carefully revised Dr. Drysdale's manuscript and have superintended its passage through the press; I have also added an index and a few notes which serve to complete the history in some places where it seemed defective.

R. E. DUDGEON.

LONDON,

September, 1885.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

“THE subject (homœopathy) becomes all the more important,” so Hufeland declared in 1826,* “if the originator is a man who commands our respect. And no one will be able to deny that this is the case with Hahnemann, and least of all one who is in the position of the author of this essay, whose acquaintance with Hahnemann is of long standing, and who, connected with him for more than thirty years by ties both of friendship and of letters, valued him always as one of our most distinguished, intelligent and original medical men.”

The same author writes, four years later:† “The first thing that influenced me was the fact that I held it wrong and unworthy of science to treat the new doctrine with ridicule and contempt Despotism and oppression are obnoxious to me, especially in scientific matters; in science, impartiality, careful investigation, sifting of evidence, together with mutual respect and strict adherence to the matter in hand, should prevail, and personalities be strictly excluded. Added to this was the respect I had long felt for the author, which was in-

* *Jour. f. prakt. Arzneik.*, St. 1, p. 7.

† *L.c.*, 1830, St. 2, p. 20.

spired by his earlier writings and the important services he had rendered to medicine; besides this, the names of many worthy and unprejudiced men who testified to the positive truth there was in the matter could not but carry weight. I will only recall the names of President v. Wolf of Warsaw, Medical Counsellor Rau of Giessen, and Medical Counsellor Widnmann of Munich.

"I had subsequently the opportunity of observing many instances of good results from the use of homœopathic remedies, which necessarily drew my attention to this subject and convinced me that it ought not to be contemptuously pushed on one side, but deserves careful investigation."

This judgment of the impartial Hufeland is in sharp contrast with the utterances of the majority of allopathic authors, who, on innumerable occasions, did not hesitate to speak of homœopathy as "a delusion" and "a system of deception;" of Hahnemann, its founder, as the "greatest charlatan," and of homœopathic practitioners as "impostors" or "deceived deceivers," and who do not shrink from expressing themselves in a similar strain even in our own time.

There have been numerous replies from the homœopathic side, and it has been shown that much earnestness, study and truth are involved in the matter. Strange to say, no single adherent of Hahnemann has undertaken to describe his pre-homœopathic labours, his studies and achievements at that time, or his intense striving after truth. What position did he previously take among his medical colleagues? What course of development did he go through before he brought forward his medical principles?

These questions are of importance in forming a judgment respecting the founder of homœopathy. Many of its adversaries have accordingly hastened to answer these

questions, and that in a hostile sense. Thus a certain Dr. Simon, whose works serve even to the present day as an arsenal from which most of our opponents draw their weapons, writes thus: "Hahnemann is the same unreliable ignoramus, whether viewed as a man of science or as a physician."* Further: "what we especially miss in him is acumen. The want of the capacity to seize clearly and to pursue a train of thought, *appears unpleasantly in everything he ever wrote.*"

Another opponent, Professor Sachs—who is termed by the Hanoverian physician, Stieglitz, "an author of great talent," and that in reference to his anti-homœopathic books—holds the following views: "Hahnemann has *always* shown himself weak in the region of solid thinking. He is incapable of radically grasping and following out thoroughly even a simple thought."†

All his opponents seem to be unanimous in the opinion that vanity and avarice were the moving springs of his public career, just as in recent times all agree in the assertion that his capacity and knowledge as a physician were of the slenderest description. In the following treatise it is proposed to consider the career of Hahnemann from a non-hostile point of view. After a glimpse at his chemical labours and a short review of his contributions towards the perfecting of the art of pharmacy, we will proceed to a consideration of his medical development, and conclude with a description of Hahnemann as a man.

The second part is intended to give the reader an idea of the methods used in combating the new doctrine, by means of which a gap in the literature of the subject will be filled,

* *Antihomœopathisches Archiv*, Vol. I., Pt. 2, p. 25.

† *Versuch zu einem Schlusswort über S. Hahnemann's hom. Syst.*, Leipzig, 1826, p. 57.

and, in conclusion, a short sketch of the present condition of medicine at the universities will be given.

AMEKE.

Berlin, end of 1883.

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PART II.

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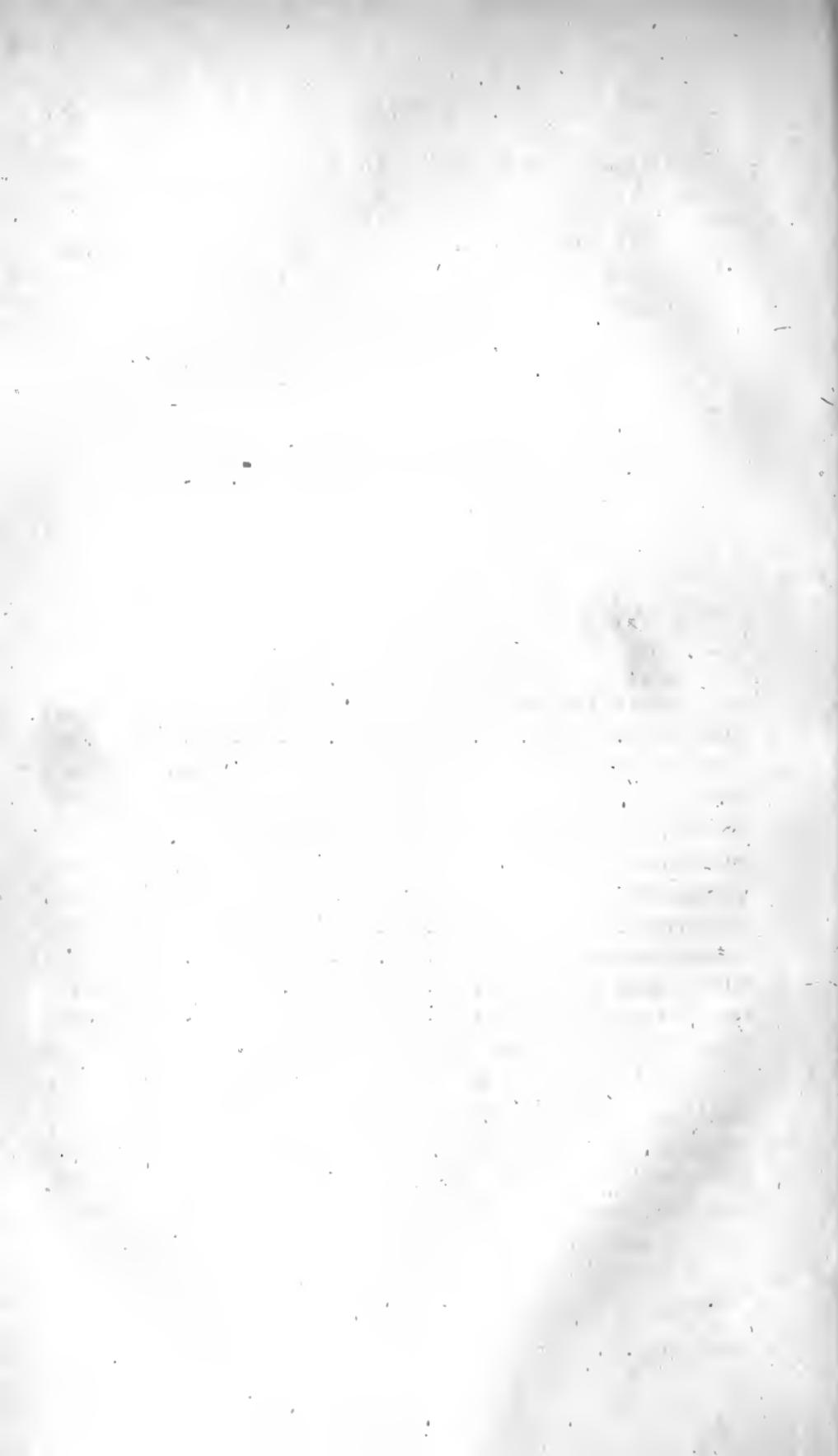
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PART I.

The Origin of Homœopathy.

HAHNEMANN'S SERVICES TO CHEMISTRY AND PHARMACY.—

THE condition of chemical knowledge at the time of Hahnemann's appearance was briefly the following:—

Till Lavoisier's discoveries the teachings of John Joachim Becher (1635-1683), and G. E. Stahl (1660-1734), especially the doctrine of phlogiston were of fundamental importance to chemists. One of their ardent adherents was Neumann, Professor of Chemistry in the Academy of Berlin. In his book on medical chemistry, in 1756,* he writes: "That the earth is the elementary principle from which all things were derived and created, is clear from the description of the creation in the Bible where it is written: In the beginning God created heaven and earth, and there is no mention of water." Water is nothing else than a kind of transparent earth called ice, made fluid by warmth. It consists of four elements. (*Ib.* ii. 399). There are three kinds of earth, a *terra vitrescens* (from which with water the *principium salinum* and *acidum universale* are derived), a *terra mercurialis* and a *terra sulphurea* or *inflammabilis*.

* Züllichau, 1756, 2nd edit., Preface to Vol. II. He died in 1737.

Becher is the first to whom the properties of the principium inflammabile were known. Stahl explained and elucidated Becher's theory, he called the inflammable principle "phlogiston." Without it nothing in the world can burn (*ib. II.*, 979). Sulphur accordingly consists of sulphuric acid and phlogiston. Phosphorus is composed of phosphoric acid and phlogiston, &c. This work of Neumann's enjoyed a great reputation, was translated into English, and by means of extracts was made accessible to a still larger German public.

Although Neumann was often cited as an authority even in Hahnemann's times,* some progress had been nevertheless made since his day. In 1783, however, Dahlberg, the president of the Academy of Erfurt, still considered it necessary to undertake some careful experiments with the view of discovering whether water can be resolved into earth.†

There were even some alchemists still existing. In 1784‡ authors could still speak of "the hope of our alchemists, among whom there are many incredibly ignorant persons." The great difficulty in the matter of chemical research consisted in the fact that few or even no elementary bodies were known and accepted into which the constituents of compound bodies could be resolved. *Now* the chemist asks of what *known* elements is this or that substance composed. *Then* chemists were still searching for the "fundamental essence" of bodies, they were inquiring: "what unknown something lies hidden in them?" A few examples will show the great confusion which then prevailed in chemistry.

The celebrated Scheele, an apothecary at Köping, in Sweden,§ was searching in 1787 for the colouring matter in Prussian blue. The search was still going on in 1796.||

* *E.g.*, in the *New Edinburgh Dispensatory*, translated by Hahnemann in 1797 and 1798.

† *New chemical experiments to solve the question: Can water be changed into earth?* Erfurt, 1783-4.

‡ Crell's *Chemische Annalen*, I., 236.

§ Crell's *Chem. Ann.*, I., 184

|| *Ib.*, I., 45.

Morveau, in 1787, speaks of the "light principle" and of the "illuminating matter" in phosphorus.* In 1789 the excellent chemist Westrumb† "discovered" that acetic acid was the basis of all vegetable acids. De la Metherie‡ believes that all vegetable acids can be resolved into one single acid. In 1790 Westrumb looked upon phosphoric acid as the final result of the decomposition of vegetable acids and inquired :§ "Does phosphoric acid perhaps lie concealed in nitric acid?" Two years before|| he had found the same acid in Prussian blue. "I consider inflammable air," so he wrote in 1791,¶ "to be very composite and to be compounded of phlogiston, caloric, water, phosphoric acid, &c." "It can be theoretically explained, according to Herr Kirwan's theory," so wrote a chemist in 1789, "that *common muriatic acid* consists of the special basis, phlogiston, and a certain amount of carbonic acid."**

Professor Winterl made known at about the same time certain experiments,†† according to which "copper consists of nickel, plumbago, silica and carbonic acid, and of a certain substance which escapes in boiling which unites plumbago, silica, and carbonic acid in the alkaline ley." The same chemist changed muriatic acid into nitric acid.††† Professor Vogt, even in 1795,§§ recognises an earthy, a watery, an aërial, an acid, an alkaline, &c., basic element. Lowiz, the principal apothecary and professor of chemistry in St. Petersburg, discovered in 1793||| "true inflammability in the purest acetic acid, and separated phosphoric acid from it by means of inflammable salt gas."

We may here insert the following extract from a table of chemical relations by Professor Gren belonging to the year 1791.¶¶

* Crelle's *Chem. Ann.*, II., 243
and 460.

|| *Ib.*, 1788, I., 148.
¶ *Ib.*, I., 146

† *Ib.*, preface, 1789.

** *Ib.*, II., 136.

‡ *Ib.*, I., 276.

†† *Ib.*, 221.

§ *Ib.*, I., 434.

Ib., I., 319

§§ Trommsdorff's *Jour. der Pharmacie*, II., st. 1, p. 187.

||| Crelle's *Ann.*, I., 220, 223. J. F. Gmelin, *Gesch. d. Chemie*. Göttingen, 1799, III., 391.

¶¶ Monro's *Materia Medica*, translated by Hahnemann, Conclusion.

(There were affinities in the wet way and in the dry way.

	FIRE.	AIR.	WATER.	RESIN.	GUM.	ALCOHOL.
Fire ...	Accumulation.	Phlogisticated air.	Gaseous steam	Carbon	Carbon	Vapour.
Air ...	Combustion	Accumulation	Penetrating steam	Ash	Ash	
Water.	Gaseous steam	Water with fixed air (Carbonic acid).	Accumulation	—	Solution	Brandy.

According to this fire plus gas = phlogisticated air. Fire plus water = penetration. Fire plus gum = carbon, &c.

The great Lavoisier was destined to put an end to these vain speculations, but not without the most vehement opposition and long-continued resistance of the upholders of the phlogiston theory.

The struggle with regard to phlogiston took place at the time of Hahnemann's chemical labours. In 1770 Lavoisier showed that water does not change into earth, but that it is composed of hydrogen and oxygen. In 1774 he proved that the increase of weight that takes place when metals are oxydised is caused by the incorporating of air. In 1777, 1780 and 1783 he published his experiments, which had been made with an exactness hitherto unknown and with the aid of imposing apparatus, and proved that the increase of weight which takes place when phosphorus and sulphur are burnt, is equal to the loss of weight of the air in which the burning takes place. He concluded that that ingredient of air which was transferred to the burnt substances was the constituent common to all acids—hence he called it “oxygen”—translated by the Germans into “Sauerstoff,” and which Priestley and Scheele had discovered a short time before as a peculiar kind of air (dephlogisticated air).*

The principles of chemistry which had been hitherto accepted were discussed in Crell's *Annalen*; in 1774, therefore

* Comp. Gmelin, *l.c.* III., 279, *et seq.*

14 years later (I. 95), we find the statement—"Lavoisier and Landriani are said to have converted inflammable air (hydrogen) and dephlogisticated air (oxygen) into water," and this was confirmed by Cavendish (*ib.* I. 479). In 1786 those celebrated men, Kirwan, Cavendish and Scheele opposed Lavoisier, who disputed the existence of phlogiston.*

In 1787 the prize theme of the Academy of Orleans was "Is water a compound substance, or is it simple and an element?" (I. 288). Professor Hermbstädt of Berlin spoke against Lavoisier's analysis of water, and held oxygen to be the primary originating matter of fire (I. 296). De la Metherie was opposed to Lavoisier's experiments, "which do not destroy the older view."† Kirwan (II. 156) in Dublin and Dollfuss (II. 162) in London took phlogiston under their protection. The latter speaks of "Kirwan's masterly defence of phlogiston against the already fashionable theory of Lavoisier." The chemists, Morveau, Bertholet, Foureroy, Mongez, de la Place, Vandermonde, Cousin, le Gendre, Cadet, and Hassenfratz met during three months three times a week at Lavoisier's house, in order to decide upon new technical terms and new chemical signs, "by means of which, as is the case in geometry, savants of all nations may be able to understand each other." The results were laid before the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris (*ib.* II. 58).

1788: Priestley (II. 49, 50) came forward to defend phlogiston and to oppose Lavoisier's analysis of water.

Lavoisier (II. 51) converted phlogisticated air (nitrogen) and dephlogisticated air (oxygen) into nitric acid by means of the electric current. De la Metherie writes: (II. 139) "phlogiston still finds friends in Kirwan and Priestley and in the majority of natural philosophers. The new nomenclature (of Lavoisier and his French adherents) is universally rejected." Lavoisier (II. 262) mentions a method of increasing the effect of fire in chemical opera-

* Trommsdorf's *Jour. d. Pharm.* II., St. 4, p. 37.

† Crell's *Annalen*, I, 552, and II. 332.

tions by means of oxygen. He gives tables showing "the quantity of oxygen which combines with various metals when dissolved in acids and when precipitated by one another" (*ib.* 464). According to the opinion of the court apothecary, Rückert of Ingelfingen, the green in plants is derived from phlogiston (II. 513). A prize theme of the academy at Copenhagen requires the analysis of phlogisticated air (nitrogen) and asks "whether phlogisticated air loses phlogiston by detonation" (II. 479).

1789: Professor Klaproth says: (I. 11) "I reduced some white manganese calx, which I had precipitated from the solution in phlogisticated nitric acid by tartaric alkali in a crucible and obtained a regulus of finely grained structure. Hardly had I freed it from the adhering coal dust and placed it on paper in an open cup, when I became aware of a distinct smell of inflammable air—on the third day I still perceived by the smell the phlogiston which was escaping from it."

Crell writes: (*ib. Vorbericht* p. 2) "Westrumb made the discovery that nearly all metals ignite with emission of sparks in dephlogisticated chlorine, and thereby give a new and strong proof in favour of phlogiston."

At a further stage in the controversy the defenders of phlogiston proved that all acids were not compounds of oxygen, and used this as a weapon against Lavoisier. They saw that metallic oxides, if mixed with carbon, could be reconverted into the metals. They had therefore received phlogiston from the carbon which they had lost as oxides.

Lavoisier: "Those who attempted to delude mankind into believing that what is new is not true and that all that is true is not new, have made too much of the discovery of the germs of my discoveries in an old author" (*ib.* II. 149) 1790. Hahnemann (II. 52) urges that experiments should be made for the purpose of deciding this question. The labours of the French chemists were disturbed by the revolution

1791: Crell writes: (*ib. Vorbericht*) Herr Lowiz has solved the difficulties concerning the dephlogisticating action of carbon, so also Wiegbleb in his pamphlet defends

phlogiston, in which he (II. 387—469) attributes false statements to Lavoisier. Kirwan announces (*ib.* I. 425) that he has given up Stahl's system of phlogiston.

Professor Gren: (II. 56) "My principal objection to Lavoisier's system is that he opposes obstacles to the progress of natural science."

1792: Crell (*ib. Vorbericht*) says: The doctrine of phlogiston divides chemists into two parties; he dwells on the difficulty of changing the whole method of thought of chemists. Westrumb (I. 1) speaks of the system of the "gasists" to avoid giving offence by using the word phlogiston. Hofrat Herrmann writes: (II. 44) "Inflammable gas is for me a compound of phlogiston, fire, air, finely divided aqueous vapour, and, if obtained from a metal, some of the metal in solution."

Hermbstädt (II. 210 and further) says: "Stahl, that clear-sighted and philosophical physician, would have been, if he had lived, one of the first to recant his opinions Wieglob, Westrumb, Gren, Gmelin, Crell..... do not think so. The desertion of Kirwan and Klaproth, at one time earnest and enthusiastic advocates of phlogiston, is significant." Professors Hermbstädt, Klaproth and Karsten instituted experiments relative to oxygen which favoured Lavoisier (II. 387). A prize was offered at the academy of Harlem for the best paper on the "Nature of Fire" (II. 480).

1793: Another prize was offered at Göttingen for an essay "On the Composition of Water" (I. 287). Hermbstädt showed A. v. Humboldt experiments in the Royal Laboratory at Berlin, which favoured Lavoisier's views (I. 303). This enthusiastic partizan of Lavoisier in Germany complains: "I often advocated the new doctrine at the expense of my honour and good name, for I was more than once saluted as 'a quack, imbecile, propagandist, and antiphlogistic town-crier,' as will be seen by a glance at the *Salzburg Med. chir. Journal* and other periodicals" (II. 480).

Professor Gren (I. 31) states that if oxygen can be obtained from oxide of mercury, he will never again conduct

an experiment, and consider himself no chemist. Nevertheless, he soon adopted the new theory.

In 1794, as we all know, the meritorious Lavoisier perished miserably. In order to provide the means for his prolonged and expensive experiments, he had accepted the post of farmer-general, he was thereupon called to account by the blood-thirsty Robespierre, and was guillotined on the 8th of May. Nevertheless, the spirit which he had infused into chemistry survived, and continued his work; the ranks of the "Phlogisticker" thinned from year to year, the number of chemical text-books written on "antiphlogistic principles" continually increased, though among others Priestley still contended against Lavoisier's theory in 1796.*

In 1799 Gmelin† states that Lavoisier's system was accepted by the majority of chemists.

Hahnemann made his *début* as chemist without having had more instruction in the art than other medical men, and without ever having been assistant in a laboratory. He was self-taught.

In the year 1784 he translated Demachy's "*Art of Manufacturing Chemical Products*," two volumes.

Demachy was one of the first chemists of the day, a member of the Berlin and Paris Academies. The French Academy published this work because most of the chemical manufactures mentioned in it had been kept secret by their several manufacturers, particularly the Dutch, and it was now desired to introduce their manufacture into France. This was urgently necessary both for France and for Germany, and it was a great service rendered by Hahnemann that he not only made Demachy's processes accessible to his countrymen, but also enhanced the value of the book by suggestions for their improvement and perfection. After he had completed his translation, a translation appeared by the chemist, Dr. Struve, of Bern, also with additions. Hahnemann added Struve's comments to his translation, making his own notes upon them.

* Crell's *Annalen*, 1798, II. 308 and 376.

† *Gesch. d. Chem.*, III., 278.

The nature of chemicals and the notions with regard to their composition were, in many respects, very defective, as appears from this work. We find here, to give a few examples (I. 54), mention made of a very good blue aqua fortis obtained by distilling arsenic and saltpetre with equal portions of water. Every nitric acid turned white, *i.e.*, a white precipitate resulted when a solution of silver was added to it, owing to admixture with hydrochloric acid (I. 62). The purity of the nitric acid was estimated by the amount of this deposit. Demachy considered it impossible to estimate the strength of hydrochloric acid by means of the areometer (I. 15). Such impure nitric acid must indeed have acted as aqua regia, and it is therefore not astonishing that that excellent chemist, Struve, observed a deposit of gold from a "solution of silver" (I. 55). (Hahnemann calls this idea "an alchemistic fancy.") Demachy divided aqua fortis into that which contains hydrochloric acid only and that which also contains sulphuric acid (I. 66).

Lime was added to potash in order to remove its "oiliness" (II. 39, 40), and it also rendered it somewhat caustic. According to Demachy, potash contains all the more vitriolized tartar (sulphate of potash) the older it is; in that case, carbonic acid must have been converted into sulphuric acid. Salts of wormwood, plantain, gentian and centuary was still sold (II. 39, 40). Glauber salt was prepared with the expensive alum. Hydrochloric acid was dearer than even the costly sulphuric acid (II. 32). Weathered Epsom salt was sold instead of Rochelle salt (tartrate of soda and potash) (II. 47). According to Hermbstädt, milk-sugar consisted of one portion of chalk and three of saccharic acid (II. 77.) Wiegleb has proved, says Struve, that the beautiful red colour of cinnabar depends upon the fatty acid which it has derived from fire (II. 143). Demachy thinks that in red precipitate the corrosive part of nitric acid is retained (II. 162). To add to this confusion, wholesale adulteration was practised, and a narrow-minded secrecy observed. The Dutch, especially, were accused of this. The ethereal oils were

adulterated with oil of turpentine and balsam of copaiba, &c. (I. 241.242) : lead was mixed with cinnabar, (II. 143) arsenic with corrosive sublimate (II. 146). The preparation of white precipitate was kept secret (II. 165). There were as many secret modes of making lead preparations as there were manufactories. Red lead was adulterated with brickdust and oxide of iron. Dutch white lead was a mixture of one part of pure white lead, and one to three parts of chalk (II. 194). The mode of preparation of verdigris was rigidly kept secret (II. 200), as was also the manufacture of vinegar by the Dutch (II. 196). "From time immemorial," says Demachy, "the same family has always refined borax, another prepared corrosive sublimate, and so on" (II. 217). The Dutch would not communicate their method of refining borax to his agent. (II. 97); he also speaks of antimony works which could not be visited.

In his remarks Hahnemann displays an astounding knowledge of all the questions connected in any way with the contents of the book. His knowledge of the literature of the various subjects is exhaustive. He cites, *e.g.*, ten authors on the subject of the preparation of antimonials (II. 129), and quotes a number of works on lead (II. 175), quicksilver (II. 172), camphor (I. 254), succinic acid (II. 82), borax (II. 91), &c. Where Demachy remarks that he knows no work on the carbonification of turf, Hahnemann mentions six (I. 76); where Demachy speaks of a rare Italian book, Hahnemann gives further details concerning it (I. 6); where Demachy speaks of a French analyst without giving his name; Hahnemann subjoins the name and the work. Demachy mentions a "celebrated German doctor." Hahnemann is able to give the name, work and passage; and so on in many other cases.* Where Demachy touches on a discovery, Hahnemann narrates its history fully.† In numerous places he gives more precise information in explanation of the text and explains the

* Comp. II., 41, 66, 186, 199, I., 249, &c.

† II., 44, I., 143, &c.

chemical reactions more in detail.* Hahnemann also frequently corrects errors and mistakes.† His notes on nearly every page are almost equal in value to a new work. The following examples show that in addition to botany and zoology he was master of all desirable knowledge on the subject of physics, and especially of technology which was then beginning to attract attention.

Under distillation (I. 200) he shows by calculation that the worm then in ordinary use produced less refrigeration than the cap over the receiver. Now the worm is disused in pharmaceutical laboratories, partly on account of the difficulty in cleaning it, to which Hahnemann also calls attention (I. 202). He speaks of the *areometer*‡ with much knowledge of the subject and experience, and shows in this respect his superiority to Demachy and Struve. He describes, too, an improved areometer invented by himself.§

Demachy advised among other things blowing with the mouth to increase a flame where there was not a proper current of air. Thereupon remarks Hahnemann (I. 34), "This can be dispensed with either by removing from the furnace the cause that hinders the draught, or if there is nothing of this sort present, by closing all the openings of the laboratory with the exception of one door, or window, especially, however, by placing a tinned iron pipe 4 to 6 feet in height over the smoke hole of the furnace and plastering it over with glue, for by this means the ingoing and outgoing currents are at different heights of the column of air, and the draught is increased more than by means of straw, the bellows, or even blowing with the mouth."

Hahnemann corrects Demachy's mistake in the matter of scarlet dyeing (I. 69—70), and also Struve's mistake with regard to copper engraving. He gives numerous directions to the mason,|| and the potter, *e.g.*, (I. 11) for special retorts.

* I., 16, 17, 22, 31, 62, 86, 130, 186, 237, 267, 279, &c.

† I., 55, 101, II., 44, 48, &c.

‡ I., 281—282, 288—296.

§ I., plate 4, fig. 6.

|| I., 4, 30, 31, 39, 171, 174, 176.

Hahnemann gives the measures for these, and he is acquainted with the cements necessary for various purposes.* He gives precise directions as to how hearths and grates should be made, whether of iron or earthenware, and of what height they should be and how the fire is to be regulated, whether retorts with long or short necks, or whether receivers or intermediate tubes are to be used.

He is well acquainted with the manufacture of chemicals in other countries.† Thus he corrects Demachy (I. 21) with regard to alum in Russia, Sweden, Germany, Italy, Sicily and Smyrna. He gives full details (I. 25.26) as to pit coal and coke in England and in the province of Saarbrück. He frequently and with vehemence defends the use of pit coal,‡ against which there was then a general prejudice, and points out the increasing scarcity of wood. Later, in 1787, he published a special treatise on the *Prejudices against the Use of Coal as Fuel*; 1787, Crell's *Annalen* mentioned as a novelty, (p. 288) that: "at Creusot in Burgundy the smelting and refining of iron is carried on on a large scale by means of coal which has been previously burnt."

The translator intercalates various improvements and inventions, *e.g.*, "A special mode (p. 49—53) of distilling aqua fortis" in a *continuous* stove, the retorts of which did not burst, while in the ordinary arrangement mentioned by Demachy, five, six, or more retorts are generally spoilt, and the works must be interrupted at heavy cost. He proposes a method (I. 60) of purifying saltpetre from salt before distillation in the preparation of nitric acid to avoid its contamination with muriatic acid.

Hahnemann introduces a new test for muriatic acid. The ordinary method of using lunar caustic might also indicate sulphuric acid, if this was present in a certain degree of concentration, in which case there would be a precipitate of sulphate of silver. This could of course be avoided by

* I., 81, 84, 99, 154.

† II., 12, 29, 32, 81, 98, 176, 183, 184, &c.

‡ I., 25, 27, 180, &c.

the dilution of the fluid. Hahnemann's reagent was a solution of sulphate of silver; a precipitate of chloride of silver only was thrown down and the sulphuric compounds remained in solution (I. 63). The idea underlying the method is still used in qualitative analysis of employing gypsum water to distinguish lime from baryta and strontia. At the same time Hahnemann gives directions for determining the precipitate quantitatively.

Hahnemann uses the same idea for a new test for sulphuric acid, viz., a solution of chloride of lead, since that used hitherto ("a few drops of solution of mercury" would also indicate muriatic acid if this were present in any considerable amount. But he adds another test, which had just been discovered by Scheele, viz., baryta (I. 64).

Further Hahnemann calls attention to the amount of magnesia in the brines of salt works, and indicates a method of separating it. He returns later to this subject.* We see from Crell's *Chem. Annalen*† that his idea had attracted the attention of chemists. Magnesia was little known in those days. Professor Neumann's work on medical chemistry in 1756‡ declared the discovery of magnesia alba a "delusion," and the substance itself "exhausted lime."

Careful experiments were instituted by Hahnemann§ on the subject of crystallization, on the solubility of salts at different temperatures, and the possibility of separating them by means of crystallization, and he gives many useful hints for the detection of impurities. His remarks on the various preparations of mercury,|| which he had carefully investigated, are especially numerous and suggestive.

How earnestly Hahnemann strove to secure accuracy and certainty is shown by his careful determination of the quantitative relation of alum and salt in the formation of glauber salt (II. Preface). Professor Gren had given the

* *Kennzeichen der Giite, &c.*, p. 174.

† 1791, II., 30, note.

‡ Züllichau, 1756, II., 879.

§ II., 13, 31, 37.

|| II., 135, 139—141, 145, 149—150, 158, 161, 165, 166, 168, 171.

proportion of alum to salt as 7 to 12, Professor Göttling as 2 to 1, another chemist as 1 to 2. Hahnemann found that it was 17 to 6. He had to go carefully to work. First he prepared soda from common salt, according to his method; he decomposed alum with this pure carbonate of soda and weighed the glauber salt separated by crystallization. In order to ascertain how much common salt was equivalent to this glauber salt, he decomposed glauber salt by means of chloride of calcium into gypsum and common salt. Wieglob had represented the proportion of 17 to 6 as the most incorrect. Calculation with our present equivalents gives 17 to $6\frac{1}{4}$ and shows therefore the correctness of Hahnemann's statement.

He lays great stress on the purity of preparations, since some of the uncertainty in chemistry depended upon impurity of the chemical preparations.

We must not omit to mention, though of course it could not have been otherwise, that Hahnemann was incorrect on many points in chemistry. He shares the mistaken notions concerning phlogiston and the current false views of the origin and composition of many bodies. In the case of borax, *e.g.*, he believes (II. 95) that boracic acid (sedative salt) is composed of fluor spar, phosphoric acid and silica, and he thinks (II. 80) that cream of tartar can be almost converted into sal acetosellæ by the addition of a small quantity of sedative salt. In consequence of Gren's assertion that sedative salt will only enter into combination with caustic soda, Hahnemann starts the hypothesis (II. 95) that calcination would be very useful in the refining of borax. In the second part of this work we again find his error concerning this substance.

The following criticism of the translation appeared in Crell's *Annalen* (1785. II. 77):

If ever a work was worthy of translation this is one, and fortunately for its readers it has fallen into the hands of a writer who has improved and perfected it. Demachy's original work has long been prized by all readers of French. In the second edition, notes were added by Dr. Struve. Dr. Hahnemann translated it with these additions and added a great many notes of his own, by which the scope of this work was increased and its errors corrected. We can affirm that no more com-

plete treatise exists on the subject of the manufacture of chemicals than this work. The author (Hahnemann) has described a special distilling apparatus for aqua fortis, which well merits attention. In the chapter on the preparation of muriatic acid, the notes are greater in amount than the text, *and are more important.*

In the review of the second part (*ib. II. 277*), it is mentioned that Hahnemann has added a special mode of preparing salt of amber (succinic acid) in the purest state. In 1801, a new edition appeared.

In 1786, he published *On Poisoning by Arsenic, its Treatment and Judicial Investigation.*

Before Hahnemann, Neumann, the Professor of Chemistry in Berlin, made investigations with a view to ascertaining the presence of arsenic,* but without obtaining any reliable results. He "hesitated about carrying his investigations further, lest he should be the cause of undetectable poisonings." The last author mentioned as such in works on the history of chemistry, and designated by Hahnemann as the chief writer on this subject, was Navier.† The conceptions of the chemical constitution of arsenic were very hazy. Haller looked upon it as "an extremely narcotic form of sulphur." Gmelin thought its principal component was muriatic acid; Neumann thought it consisted of muriatic acid and sulphuric acid, and Pörner of muriatic, sulphuric and silicic acids. Navier considered it proved that "arsenic consisted of a volatile semi-metallic earth combined with muriatic acid." "O, holy chemistry, have mercy upon us!" Hahnemann exclaims. He adduced proofs against all these statements. An example of the method then pursued for detecting arsenic is to be found in Crell's *Annalen.*‡ It could not be recognized by the taste, because at first there was no smell of garlic, it was not mercury. The author thought he might conclude that "the drops are nothing but a so-called fixed arsenic." He does not venture to determine the quantity. Crell's *Annalen* was the best of the chemical journals.

* *L.c. II., 495—501.*

† P. T. Navier, *Antidotes to Arsenic, Corrosive Sublimate, Verdigris and Lead*, Paris, 1777. Trans. by Weigel, Greifswald, 1782.

‡ 1784, II., 128—131

Hahnemann does not mention any new antidotes in this treatise, but he subjects the large number of those recommended to a careful examination, even making physiological experiments on dogs, indicates the best remedies, and gives precise directions for their use.

The most important part of this work is the chapter on the mode of ascertaining chemically the presence of arsenic, because chemistry, and especially juridical chemistry made thereby an important step in advance. After showing that the tests of Neumann, Morveau, Haller, Sprögel ordinarily employed, were unreliable, he gives three tests which appear essential to him: Lime-water, water saturated with sulphuretted hydrogen, and ammoniaco-muriate of copper (sulphate of copper recommended by Neumann gave no reaction). Water impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen had already been used by Navier,* but, and this is the point--without any addition of acid, so that the reaction was extremely uncertain. Hahnemann was the first who recognised and laid stress on the necessity of adding an acid,† a very important discovery to which we shall again return. Further on (p. 246) he states that: "Deliquesced potash makes the precipitate disappear." Even now chemical analysis knows no other means of separating the metals of the arsenic-antimony group from those of mercury—silver—copper, &c., than that of dissolving the sulphurets of the first group in an alkaline solution as was done in the above way by Hahnemann. Hahnemann went still further. The precipitate of the sulphide could not be quantitatively determined on account of the change that took place in drying. But the copper precipitate remains unchanged, and, according to Hahnemann's calculations and repeated experiments, 267 parts of it were equivalent to 165 parts of arsenic. Together with the well-known smell of garlic, this test appears to him decisive. The limit of the reaction with ammoniaco-muriate of copper he gives as at a dilution of 1 to 5000. The precipitated arsenious oxide is soluble in

* *L.c.*, I., 28.

† P. 127, 136, 236, 239.

2100 parts of lime-water, and is, therefore, a less sensitive test.

It is characteristic that Hahnemann in his chemical writings always endeavours to determine with the greatest accuracy the limits of the activity of agents. This he does here also. He discovers that exposed to a temperature of 96° F. (i.e., nearly blood heat), for ten minutes, the solubility of white arsenic is 1 in 816; the solubility of native arsenic (according to the time of boiling), 1 in 4000 — 1 in 1100; of regulus of arsenic 1 in 5000, of natural orpiment (which, like the two preceding substances, is converted into arsenic by boiling) 1 in 5000, and so he proceeds with all the chemical bodies mentioned, not without drawing conclusions therefrom and estimating their value for his purposes.

He earnestly opposes those cheap-jacks and hawkers who are allowed to sell arsenic as "a fever powder," and he makes circumstantial proposals respecting prescriptions of poisonous drugs, which have now been carried out exactly as he proposed. He suggests that there should be a locked chamber for poisons in the apothecary's shop, of which only the owner of the shop or his representative should have the key; he also demands that a special book should be kept for entering the poisons sold, and suggests that special forms of receipt should be attached to it which should specify the receiver, and which should be submitted to the doctors who examine the shop once a year.

This is not the place to discuss the equally valuable medical part of the book. The book is a model of conscientious work, wide knowledge, and a devoted love of science; it is well worth studying even now, after the lapse of a hundred years. The remarkable industry of the author is shown by the fact that he quotes 861 passages from 389 different authors and books in different languages and belonging to different ages, and gives accurately both volume and page.

The following criticism is taken from Crell's* *Annalen* :—

* 1788, I., 182.

"As the author starts from chemical principles, and has confirmed them by his own experiments which are here recounted, this product of exceptional literary industry deserves to be noticed by us." Hahnemann's investigations are then described. The reviewer does not attempt to decide on the question whether Hahnemann's statement that arsenic does not contain muriatic acid, &c., was correct, and thus shows Hahnemann's superiority.

In the *Neue lit. Nachrichten für Aerzte, &c.** the work is reviewed at greater length, and the reviewer says, "These last portions (viz., judicial investigation, pathology, chemical tests, determination of lethal doses) give the whole work extreme value."

The Councillor of Mines, Dr. Bucholtz, of Weimar,† who has rendered so many services to pharmacy, calls this book "The very valuable book of my esteemed friend, Dr. Samuel Hahnemann."

Professor Hencke praises in Horn's *Archiv für medic. Erfahrungen*,‡ "the classical work (for that time) of Dr. Samuel Hahnemann on arsenic, by means of which the best modes of analysing arsenic were introduced into medical jurisprudence." We must add that Hahnemann not only introduced the best existing methods of arsenic analysis into medical jurisprudence, but also improved them, and discovered the reaction with ammoniaco-muriate of copper, on which fact stress is laid by the historian Wieglob.§

Hahnemann's Contributions to Crell's Chemische Annalen.

Crell was Professor of Medicine and Philosophy in the Brunswick University at Helmstädt. His *Annalen* possess very great importance for the history of chemistry.|| They appeared monthly from 1784 and were the first regularly

* Halle in Saxony, 1787, 49, 51.

† Hufeland's *Journal*, 1798, Vol. V., p. 377.

‡ 1817, I., 181.

§ J. C. Wieglob *Geschichte des Wachstums und der Erfindungen in der Chemie*, Berlin and Stettin, II., 373.

|| Previously he edited the *Chemisches Journal* in six parts since 1778, then, since 1781, the *Neueste Entdeckungen*, in 12 vols.

appearing chemical periodical, at least, in Germany, and they were soon imitated in the French *Annales de Chimie*. Crell met the expenses of his undertaking (as was then usual) by subscription; the list of subscribers contains many names of princes, academics and students in all countries; apothecaries are especially numerous. The foremost chemists and natural philosophers, such as Scheele, Bergmann, Gmelin, Gren, Herbstädt, Kars-ten, Klaproth, Rose and A. von Humboldt were contributors; the last mentioned from the year 1792, after his journey through Belgium, Holland, England and France. French chemists also contributed papers. Hahnemann published a series of interesting and approved experiments and discoveries in these *Annalen*; 1787 (II. 387-396) he wrote "*On the Difficulty of Preparing Soda from Potash and Common Salt.*" We should be surprised now-a-days if any one used potash, which is much dearer than soda, in the preparation of the latter. Then potash was obtained from the ashes of a good many plants, and soda only from a few sea-shore plants. The amount obtained from the natron lakes was unimportant, because chemists did not then know how to purify it from admixture with foreign substances. Chemists had made numerous proposals for obtaining soda from nitrate of soda, or from muriate of soda, as Scheele did by means of oxyde of lead. One pound of soda prepared in some of these ways cost nine shillings. Hahnemann thought that its preparation from common salt was the only means of obtaining cheap soda. In 1784* he stated that he had obtained soda from common salt by means of potash, by crystallization at different temperatures and different degrees of saturation; he gives the amount of heat and quantity of water required for obtaining soda, but dwells on the difficulty of separating foreign salts in this way. Gmelin mentions this process of Hahnemann's in his *History of Chemistry* (III. 497), and in Crell's *Annalen* (1789, I. 416) there was a paper endorsing the whole treatise.

* Translation of Demachy's *Laborant*, II., Preface, vii.

1788: Hahnemann attempted to ascertain what the gas was which converted alcohol into vinegar, and described his investigations in an essay "*On the Influence of certain gases on the fermentation of wine,*" (p. 141-142). He tried the effect of three gases on wine. 1. Dephlogisticated air (oxygen). 2. Phlogisticated air (nitrogen). 3. Chalk gas (carbonic acid), *i.e.*, those gases which were already known to be constituents of the atmosphere. He introduced these gases into bottles, each with four ounces of wine, closed them hermetically, kept them for two months at the same temperature (that of the room), and shook each thirty times at three periods during the day. The result was that the wine in the oxygen bottle "had become pungent vinegar."

The method of manufacturing vinegar rapidly by letting alcohol run repeatedly over chips of beech wood was discovered in 1833. Hahnemann discovered in 1788 that it is the oxygen of the air that brings about the change, and that the conversion can be promoted by repeated contact with it.

Soon after he published his observations on the effect of lunar caustic as a preservative from decomposition.* He found that it was most useful in a dilution of 1 to 1000 in the case of indolent ulcers, and stated that he had observed antiseptic effects from a solution of 1 in 100,000, but this was not confirmed by subsequent experiments† of others.

On various occasions Hahnemann showed his desire to make chemistry useful to medicine, as, for instance, in a special article, "*On bile and gall stones.*"‡ He took the fresh bile from a man who had been shot while in full health, and tried the effect of various salts upon it so as to ascertain their value in various liver complaints and obstructions of the bile.

It would not be consonant with the object of this work to discuss all Hahnemann's works; we shall have occasion subsequently to refer to two other papers of his from this journal.

* 1788, II., 485-486.

† *Ib.*, 1792, I., 213.

‡ 1788, II., 296-299.

Detection of the adulteration of drugs. By J. B. Van den Sande and Samuel Hahnemann, 1787.

Van den Sande, an apothecary in Brussels, published there in 1784, *La falsification des médicaments dévoilée*. Hahnemann made use of the correct descriptions of roots, barks, &c., given in this book. He mentions in two different passages of later works that the greater part of this work was his, and in the preface he begs "that the discerning critic will acknowledge my rights." The critic will observe that the chemical part is by Hahnemann, so too is the accurate statement of the component parts of the several drugs; also that the most important parts are from Hahnemann's pen, may be seen by the accuracy and the conciseness of the style and the direction taken by his investigations.

The signs for recognising purity and adulteration are given in a masterly manner.

Hahnemann gives such a concise, exhaustive and excellent account of the tests for the drugs that we are reminded of the pharmacopœas of to-day as *e.g.*, pp. 293-295 and various other passages. Among these are the tests which Hahnemann proposed in Demachy's *Laborant*,* for muriatic and sulphuric acid, founded on the different degrees of solubility of precipitates usually considered insoluble.

The article on ammonia is excellent. He examines (p. 290) it among other things for the carbonic acid it attracts, precipitates this with lime and finds that 240 grains of the precipitate correspond to 103 grains of "fixed air" (carbonic acid). A result which is perfectly correct according to the calculations of to-day.

In this work, too, as everywhere else, Hahnemann shows his earnest efforts to determine the limits of the activity of substances and their solubility. Thus he found (p. 243) that the solubility of the precipitate from solutions of nitrate of mercury by salt (both answering the purposes of tests for one another) was 1 to 86,000 of water; in the case

* I., 63 and 64.

of sulphate of lead, 1 to 87,000 parts of cold water; in the case of white lead, 1 grain in 17,000 grains of water of $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}\text{R}$, and so on in the case of many other substances (p. 251).

Accuracy prevails everywhere, he gives the melting point of metals, the specific gravity of them and of their preparations, the solubility of salts at various temperatures; in the case of important salts, *e.g.*, sal-ammoniac, also their solubility in alcohol at different temperatures. The determination of the specific gravity appears to him especially important in the case of acids; he introduced dilute acids into medical use such as are now used. He even determines their degree of concentration according to their specific gravity and approaches closely to the methods used now-a-days. In the case of vinegar the strength is to be determined by neutralisation with an alkali just as is now done.

Hahnemann complains in various passages of the untrustworthiness of pharmaceutical preparations, *e.g.*, p. 317, "which no conscientious doctor could prescribe," or, p. 316, "on what can a doctor rely?"

Owing to the extreme care he employed in his labours Hahnemann discovered and published in this work much new matter. White lead was looked upon as a combination of vinegar and lead, because it was prepared by means of vinegar. Hahnemann found that carbonic acid was the essential constituent, and he determined its proportion in 100 parts. In 1784, in Demachy's *Laborant* (II. 198) Hahnemann did not attribute the film formed by carbonic acid in solutions of sugar of lead to its true cause, but it did not escape his notice. In the treatise on arsenic (p. 288) he was already aware of it, in opposition to other chemists, who falsely attributed it to an arsenical reaction, and even then he pronounced sugar of lead to be a good test for carbonic acid. He was the first to show that the long known white lead was nothing else than the combination of lead and carbonic acid. Later chemists, as Monro* and Pro-

* Translated by Hahnemann, I., p. 214.

fessor Gren,* do not yet know the presence of carbonic acid in white lead.

Scheele had declared that the black colour of lunar caustic, which at that time was always black when used, depended on the presence of copper.† Hahnemann showed that the blackness of lunar caustic depended on deficiency of acid, which had evaporated with heat.

On p. 274, Hahnemann gives an incomplete, but, for that time, not unimportant method for the detection of Glauber salt in Epsom salts, an adulteration which was then almost universal. He precipitated the whole of the magnesia by boiling with lime water; Glauber salt remained in solution, and showed the sulphuric acid reaction. The crystallization of Glauber salt in such a manner that its crystals were of the same size as those of Epsom salt, was a special industry. Some, e.g., Monro, still considered both salts identical. Hahnemann's method of distinguishing them is especially commended in Crell's *Annalen*.‡

Further on (p. 283) Hahnemann gives a carefully described method for refining saltpetre founded on the different solubility of saltpetre and common salt in cold and hot water. This method is still practised. He is opposed to the usual method of preparing tartar emetic, and thinks that it should be obtained by means of crystallization, as Bergmann and Lassone had already recommended. Tartar emetic used then to be prepared in very different ways, and this difference affected the quality of its preparations. Bergmann's method up to Hahnemann's time lay hidden among a great number of other methods. Monro complained (I. 310) that "three grains of one kind of preparation are often as strong as six or seven of another." Hufeland proposed in 1795 (eight years after the appearance of Hahnemann's book), in Trommsdorff's *Journal der Pharmacie*,§ that since the preparations of tartar emetic were of such different strength,

* *Handbuch der Pharmacologie*. Halle, 1792, II., p. 274.

† Crell's *Annalen*, 1784, II., p. 124.

‡ 1791, II., p. 30, note.

§ Vol. III., St. 2, p. 83.

it would be better to obtain it from one source in the capital as had before been done in the case of theriac and mithridate.

As early as 1784,* Hahnemann advocated the crystallization of tartar emetic, "so that we may at last obtain a trustworthy standard of the strength of this remedy for medical use." If his suggestion of crystallizing had been followed in 1784, the subsequent complaints would not have been heard. This remedy is now obtained from algaroth powder by means of crystallization, as Hahnemann recommended. In other passages he calls attention to the importance of crystallization and advises chemists to buy, if possible, crystallized and not powdered salts, because adulteration can be more easily detected in the former case. Hahnemann advocated the preparation of drugs by the physician himself, in all cases in which the detection of adulteration was not easy.

This work was thus criticized: "This book does not need any special recommendation; from the quotations already given every doctor and apothecary will recognise its importance and indispensable character."† Professor Baldinger‡ earnestly recommends the work: "This book is extremely important and indispensable to every medical practitioner, but still more so to every physicus whose duty it is to examine the apothecaries' pharmacies.....There is a great deal of valuable matter in this important and indispensable work, and I cannot too strongly recommend it." Eleven years later, in Tromsdorff's *Journal der Pharmacie*, the work was recommended to apothecaries who wished for information concerning their wares.§

In the same work Hahnemann first explained his so-called "*Wine Test*"; he gave further details about his discovery in Crell's *Annalen*.||

* Demachy's *Laborant*, II., pp. 118 and 119.

† *Neue medicinsche Litteratur*, v. Schlegel and Arnemann, Leipzig, 1788, Vol. I., St. 3, p. 34.

‡ *Medicinisches Journal*, 1789, St. 21, p. 33.

§ 1798, Vol. V., St. 2, p. 272.

|| 1788, I., St. 4, pp. 291—306.

Wine was not unfrequently sweetened by means of sugar of lead, which was supposed to cause not only colics and cramps, but also emaciation and a languishing death. The feeling was, therefore, very strong against the adulterators and they were severely punished. The ordinary test for the detection of lead used in most countries was the "Wirtemberg Wine Test," known since 1707. This was made by boiling or digesting two parts of orpiment (arsenious sulphide), four parts of unslaked lime in twelve parts of water. "Arsenical hepar sulphuris" was thus obtained and added to the wine; a dark precipitate testified against the wine merchant. The lead present caused a turbidity, but so did other metals, *e.g.*, iron. If there was any abnormal amount of iron in the wine as was possible through an iron tool or a piece of chain remaining in the vessel after cleansing, or if the nails projecting in the inside of the cask had been partially dissolved by the acid in the wine, the wine dealer would be unjustly condemned by this method of investigation. Hahnemann gives an instance in which a certain wine dealer, of the name of Longo, was exposed to a severe examination and heavy costs, and lost his means of livelihood because there was a precipitate when his wine was tested by the Wirtemberg wine test. Two chemists succeeded after a thorough investigation in proving that there was not a trace of lead, but that there was some iron in the wine. Such errors occurred frequently. *A simple test was wanting by means of which iron might be distinguished from lead in solution, and also all metals in solution from one another.* On a subsequent occasion when a large number of wine dealers were to be tried by the Wirtemberg test, Hahnemann determined to make experiments in order to discover a better one.

Very carefully observing the degrees of temperature and the conditions of quantity and solubility, he instituted a series of investigations with the substances which caused a precipitation of lead from its solutions and the limits of reaction in order to ascertain the most delicate test. Finally he chose "water saturated with sulphuretted hydrogen

gas," which he already knew from his investigations on arsenic to be the best test for metals. Hahnemann took two ounces of wine in which $\frac{1}{30}$ of a grain of sugar of lead was dissolved and poured two teaspoonfuls of sulphuretted hydrogen solution into it; the fluid became of a brownish yellow colour. Four drops of sulphuric acid not only did not remove, but deepened the colour.

Then he applied the same test to a corresponding solution of sulphate of iron. An "olive green colour with a bluish tinge" was produced, distinctly darker than in the former experiment, but in this case a drop of sulphuric acid removed all the colour immediately, "the wine regains its natural clearness and former appearance." He further ascertained how concentrated the iron solution might be, and yet not interfere with the re-solution of the precipitate of sulphide of iron on the addition of the smallest quantity of sulphuric acid. Other acids had the same effect as sulphuric acid in iron solutions, varying in strength from 1 in 30,000 to 1 in 100. Hahnemann made further investigations which we cannot here describe, and arrived at the following important discovery: *Acidulated sulphuretted hydrogen water precipitates arsenic, lead, antimony, silver, mercury, copper, tin or bismuth, present in a suspected fluid.* (Platina, gold, cadmium, are therefore the only important metals omitted). By the addition of the acid, metals of the iron group in the fluid to be tested remained in solution. This fact was only known by him at first in the case of iron, but it is now well known that nickel, cobalt, chrome, alumina, uranium, manganese and zinc share the same property.

This is a great chemical discovery, pregnant with important consequences, which has spread Hahnemann's name far and wide. Hahnemann first applied it to the examination of wine in the following terms: "*The lead test is acidulated water saturated with sulphuretted hydrogen.*" He advised the preparation of sulphuretted hydrogen gas from hepar sulphuris calcareum in order that it might always be freshly made without difficulty. "Dry hepar is prepared by keeping at a white heat for twelve minutes a

mixture of equal portions of oyster shells and sulphur, both in powder. The whitish grey powder obtained is our hepar which can be kept unaltered for years in a properly closed glass bottle, and does not become damp—an advantage which renders it more useful for our purpose than any other hepars." He took two drachms of this and shook it up in a bottle for ten minutes with a pound of water and added ten drops of muriatic acid for every ounce. This acidulated wine test was freshly prepared each time. Now-a-days the muriatic acid is added to the fluid under investigation, which amounts to the same thing. On the application of this test iron remained in solution in the suspected fluid, while lead fell as a blackish precipitate, and the innocent wine dealers were saved!

This is "Hahnemann's Wine Test"—a designation which is too narrow and must give rise to misunderstandings. Our opponents are constantly assuring the public that Hahnemann's test has long fallen into disuse. On the contrary! It is used every day and is indispensable in every laboratory, though it is no longer necessary in the analysis of wine. It ought not to be called "Hahnemann's wine test," but "Hahnemann's *test for metals*"—the analysis with sulphuretted hydrogen water to an acid solution.

After Hahnemann's discovery, or as Crell* states at most simultaneously with it, sulphuretted hydrogen was recommended in France as a test for wine by the celebrated chemist Fourcroy. In the following year, 1789†, it is stated in an extract from the *Annales de Chimie*, that lead could be detected by this new substance in a solution of 1 to 1,000. Hahnemann had detected it in the proportion 1 to 30,000, *i.e.*, in a degree of thirty times greater dilution. His addition of an acid, of which the French knew nothing, brought about this result. The advantages of Hahnemann's discovery could not be placed in a more favourable light than by a contrast with the French test of lead, des-

cribed in Crell's *Annalen*.* Three of the foremost French chemists, Thouret, Lavoisier and Fourcroy, propose an arsenicated liver of sulphur, such as had long been found quite inadequate in Germany. The directions for ascertaining the quantity present are very circumstantial. Forty to sixty pounds of wine are evaporated to dryness; a furnace is necessary in order to obtain lead in the metallic form; a part is reduced to ashes, various salts are required, &c. Finally, "in order to be quite sure," this and that must be done. "These experiments must be repeated and comparisons instituted with good wines in order to be able to arrive at trustworthy conclusions." Hahnemann used hardly half a wine glassful of wine and one minute sufficed for a reliable qualitative investigation. He made a quantitative analysis by dropping in sulphuric acid into wine boiled to a fourth to eighth part of its bulk, by which means a sulphate of lead was precipitated. "The dried precipitate is weighed, the amount of sulphate of lead left in solution in the fluid is added, and the calculation is made; 143 grains of this precipitate (sulphate of lead) prove the presence of 100 grains of metallic lead, according to Bergmann. In twenty ounces of fluid one grain of sulphate of lead remains in solution, which is to be included in the calculation." (The precipitated sulphate was of as little use here as in testing for arsenic, because it is decomposed by drying.)

Afterwards he used cream of tartar with the addition of tartaric acid instead of muriatic acid; but he soon returned to his original method.

In 1788, Hahnemann discovered the solubility of such precipitates of metallic sulphates in boiling nitric acid. This process is now employed by chemists in order to distinguish the metallic sulphides which are not soluble by alkaline sulphides (mercury, silver, bismuth, copper, cadmium) from one another; it is known that sulphide of mercury is not dissolved by heating with nitric acid, while the others are.

* 1792, II., 455—461.

Hahnemann soon turned his discovery to practical account. As early as 1787 he recommended this method for the detection of lead in various suspected liquids.* In Crell's *Annalen*† he says that chemists will find this method indispensable for the analysis of minerals. He thereby shows that he had realised the importance of his discovery.

Recognition on the part of the chemists was not wanting. In 1789 the court physician, Scherf, of Detmold, states that it was intended to introduce Hahnemann's "wine test" in place of that in general use.‡ Professor Eschenbach, of Leipzig, writes in the same year :§ "Among the many new observations and investigations in chemistry, the test for wine invented by Dr. Hahnemann has especially pleased me. I have tried it, and it has fulfilled my expectations," &c.

Other authors speak of "Hahnemann's excellent test for wine."|| The volume of Crell's *Annalen*, with Hahnemann's analysis of metals, was translated into English¶—"Hahnemann's infallible test for wine."** "Most of our readers are acquainted with Hahnemann's excellent test for wine."†† Investigations for the detection of metals by Hahnemann's method of analysis in judicial cases also are to be found in various places.‡‡ How widely known this was is best shown by the fact that ignorance of Hahnemann's test is quoted in Trommsdorff's *Journal der Pharmacie* §§ as damning evidence of the incompetence of many apothecaries. "Certainly a proof of true knowledge!" remarks the narrator ironically.

* *Kennzeichen der Güte*, &c., pp. 229, 252, 286.

† 1794, I., St. 2, p. 111.

‡ Crell's *Annalen*, 1789, II., p. 222.

§ *Ib.*, 1789, II., p. 516.

|| *Ib.*, 1792, I., p. 185.

¶ *Ib.*, 1793, I., p. 188.

** *Ib.*, 1793, I., p. 246.

†† *Ib.*, 1793, II., p. 124.

‡‡ *Ib.*, 1794, p. 567. Further: *Salzburger Med. Chir. Ztg.*, 1794, I., p. 103; Trommsdorff's *Jour. d. Pharmacie*, 1795, II., St. 1, p. 39; III., St. 1, p. 115; III., St. 1, p. 312; 1797, V., St. 1, p. 82; 1798, V., St. 2, p. 129, and in many other places. It was also mentioned in Scherf's *Beitr. zum Archiv der Med. Polizei*, 1792, III., and in the *Intelligenzblatt der Allg. Lit. Ztg.*, 1793, No. 79.

§§ 1795, II., St. 1, p. 176

Mercurius solubilis Hahnemanni.

Chemists had long been searching for a preparation of mercury which was less corrosive and "poisonous" than sublimate, *i.e.*, muriate of mercury or turbith mineral, *i.e.*, basic sulphate of mercury.* Hahnemann shared in these endeavours to discover a milder preparation of mercury. In Demachy (II. p. 107) he expressed the opinion that a precipitate of mercury from its solution in nitric acid by means of ammonia might be the least "corrosive" form of mercury. The Berlin Professor Neumann† had already dissolved mercury in nitric acid and had obtained a precipitate with ammonia, but this preparation had different properties, *e.g.*, it was white, while Hahnemann's mercury was a velvety black. The Edinburgh pharmacopœia‡ contained a mercurius præcip. cinereus which was obtained from a solution in nitric acid by means of ammonia; this, too, had different properties, besides being grey. Hahnemann mentions on the first publication of his mode of preparation,§ that besides Black's mercur. cinereus, Gervaise Ucay had used a precipitate similar to the soluble mercury in 1693.

Hahnemann first dissolved the mercury in nitric acid in the cold.|| The difference of the solubility of mercury in heat and cold was not as yet known to chemists. Professor Hildebrand even wrote in his exhaustive treatise "*On the Solution of Mercury in Nitric Acid:*"¶ "A saturated solution can only take place with heat."

Hahnemann tried to obtain pure metallic mercury from a solution of the sublimate by means of metallic iron. The mere mechanical process of refining by squeezing through leather did not content him. He dissolved mercury thus

* Comp. Demachy's *Laborant*, II., p. 168; also Gren's *Handbuch der Pharmakologie*. Halle, 1792, II., p. 224.

† *L.c.*, II., p. 840.

‡ Translated by Hahnemann, II., p. 246.

§ *Unterricht für Wundärzte über die venerischen Krankheiten*, 1789, Preface.

|| Crell's *Annalen*, 1790, II., pp. 22-28; he here gives some modifications of the former mode of obtaining pure regulus of mercury and the precipitant.

¶ Crell's *Annalen*, 1796, II., p. 299.

obtained by nitric acid in the cold, allowed the salt to crystallize, washed the crystals with a very small quantity of water, and dried them on blotting paper.

He thus obtained a pure nitrate of the oxide of mercury. Here was a salt which is still retained in the German pharmacopœia. Even Hahnemann's proportions, the constant excess of mercury, solution in the cold, washing the crystals with a very small quantity of water, drying on blotting paper, without heat, is retained, because all these details are recognised as essential.

He treated these crystals with a certain quantity of water, and precipitated the solution by means of specially-prepared ammonia free from carbonic acid, for which he gives exact directions. The precipitate, after having stood six hours, forms a black paste, which is then dried without heat on a filter of white blotting paper.

Hahnemann did not neglect to weigh the amount of the mercury obtained by means of sheet iron from the sublimate. One part of sublimate contains 0.624 of mercury. Hahnemann says 0.634, which, considering the instruments then used, certainly shows the accuracy of his work.

Professor Gren* wrote of this preparation: "The problem of Herr Macques, to obtain a preparation of mercury which is at once very soluble (in the acids present in the body according to the views and intentions of those days, here in acetic acid), and yet free from corrosive properties, is fully solved by Herr Hahnemann's 'Mercurius Solubilis.'" "According to my opinion, merc. solub. is to be preferred to mercurius dulcis" (*ib.* p. 267). He even wished this preparation to be used for making Ugt. Neapolit. (*ib.* p. 509). And Gren was no blind eulogist, as was shown by his previous attack on Hahnemann in the matter of his test for metals—a contest which was decided by Professor Göttling and others in Hahnemann's favour.†

Physicians considered that "science had to thank the well-

* L.c., II., p. 224.

† *Salzb. Med. Chir. Ztg.*, 1794, I., p. 103; also. Prof. A. N. Scherer in his *Four. d. Chem.*, 1799, II., p. 402.

known, and for this immortal, Hahnemann, for one of the most effectual and mildest preparations of mercury."*

Kurt Sprengel, the historian: "Hahnemann's mercury, an excellent and mild preparation, the usefulness of which has been proved."†

We could fill many pages with the acknowledgments which Hahnemann received on account of his mercury from non-homœopathic doctors. Chemists, too, and among them the first of their profession, have written a great deal on the subject of this mercury, but have arrived at the conclusion that chemically it is not an ideal preparation.

Samuel Hahnemann's Apothekerlexicon, published
1793—1799.

"I have in this work endeavoured to describe all the simple remedies"—so he says in the introduction—"which have been in use from the beginning of this expiring century up to the most recent times, either officinally or otherwise, also those used only by a few physicians and some which have gained considerable repute as domestic remedies."

He not only mentions the most efficacious and approved drugs—this is what ought to be done in every good *pharmacopœia*. In an "Apothecaries' Lexicon," the disused, the unfashionable, and the little used remedies, as well as those that are inactive, disgusting and superstitious must be included because a great deal may depend even upon these. "And is there not often a great deal of merit in the so-called antiquated remedies, some of which might certainly dispute the palm with many of our fashionable remedies? From time to time these old remedies emerge from their obscurity. In such cases it is important both for the doctor and the apothecary to know what the ancients knew concerning these drugs. All this must be found in an *Apothecaries' Dictionary*."

* *Recepta und Kurarten der besten Aerzte aller Zeiten.* Leipzig, 1814, 2nd edit., IV., p. 24.

† *Geschichte der Arzneik.* Halle, 1828, Part V., p. 591.

So much as to the scope of this great work. The subjects are arranged alphabetically and it treats of everything which could be of use to the apothecary in his work. The style is concise, lively and attractive. A careful description is given of the proper arrangement of a pharmacy and its various parts under the words "*Apotheke*," "*Keller*," "*Trockenboden*," "*Laboratorium*," &c. The necessary utensils too, are carefully described with full knowledge of the subject. It is only necessary to read the articles on Evaporating Saucers (*Abdampfschalen*) or Vessels (*Gefäße*) or Oils (*Öhle*) to perceive the numerous suggestions derived from his great practical experience. Each of these articles shows how thoroughly well acquainted Hahnemann was with the subject, but every other article shows this in no less degree. He often describes new apparatus improved or invented by himself, illustrating them by diagrams. The apothecary's business of making up prescriptions and his laboratory work are accurately and clearly described. Take for instance what is said under the head "*Rezepti*." Here Hahnemann gives many directions which have now become legal enactments. How complete are the articles under the headings: *Abdampfen* (evaporation), *Abgiessen* (decantation), *Abklären* (clarification), *Auflösen* (solution), *Auslaugen* (elixivation), *Auspressen* (expression), and others in letter A alone. In the matters treated of, detailed instructions for the apothecary are given; when we read under "*Emulsion*," the various modes of making it from seeds, fats, resins and camphor, with gum Arabic, tragacanth, eggs, &c., or turn up "*Distillation*" or "*Crystallization*" we see the zeal with which Hahnemann must have worked, and the intelligent use to which he put his experience.

The interest too that he displays in seemingly insignificant matters that can be of importance only to a man who has worked himself, shows how completely he was master of the subject. This is the case in his remarks on the lining with cement of furnaces (I. 111) on distillation, in the directions for making apparatus that cannot be bought; in his observations on the various kinds of fuel

for different purposes (I. 294), on reducing all sorts of substances to powder (II. 1, 246), on the construction of the special crucibles required for different purposes (II. 2, 161) and various kinds of furnaces (II. 1, 145, 150), &c. A number of Hahnemann's recommendations with regard to the supervision of apothecaries, have now been generally adopted, so too have his proposals regarding the regulation of the sale of poisons, distillation in vapour baths, the construction of tin vessels from pure tin, the inspissation by evaporation of extracts over water baths (I. 223), the distillation of ethereal oils in the steam bath (II. 1, 152), the preservation of odoriferous substances, of plants, *e.g.*, valerian, hemlock, &c., in tinned boxes (I. 338 and 411); the necessity of a herbarium in every chemist's shop for instruction and for the purpose of aiding their proper collection (II. 2.115).

In the case of remedies belonging to the vegetable kingdom, he gives not only their botanical description, but their habitat (II. 2.115, 119), their time of flowering, the time for collecting the parts useful medicinally, and refers to works containing plates—this he does too with regard to the animals mentioned. The literature here referred to proves how thoroughly Hahnemann had studied the subject. Among the works mentioned are those of the first botanists and zoologists, such as Buffon, Pallas, Dryander, Regnault, Scopoli, Jussieu, Linnaeus, Slaone, Gleditsch, Haller, Bauhin, Rumpf, Kämpf, Tabernaemontanus, Tournefort, &c., &c., more than 100 works in different languages, including the most recent books of travel.

By his recommendation not to boil the extracts of narcotic plants, but to evaporate them over water baths, he deserves the credit of having contributed largely to the introduction of these important medicines. The advice of Professor Neumann* had been followed only two generally “to boil freely in making extracts, since boiling for a considerable time with a large amount of water, is the best

* *Medic. Chemie*, I., 661.

corrective of too powerful medicaments." Professor Hecker admitted that "the directions given by Herr Hahnemann for the preparation of narcotic plants are the best that we have."^{*}

We should here remind our readers of Hahnemann's mode of preparing tinctures from fresh plants, which was justly considered to have enriched our therapeutic thesaurus medicaminum.[†]

The chemical part is treated in the same spirit. There is everywhere thoroughness without diffuseness; compare for example the articles on mercury, antimony, phosphorus, potash, ammonia, sulphur, &c. He gives the history of many important preparations, *e.g.*, sulphuric acid, tartar emetic, phosphorus, sal-ammoniac, &c., at the same time without overlooking the latest achievements of chemistry.

In order that medicines should be of a definite character, he insisted upon them being of a fixed specific gravity if they were fluids, as in the case of ammonia, of diluted acids (II. 2.363) and of alcohol.

In order to be able to obtain good preparations, the apothecary is to pay attention to the habitat of the plants, if possible to collect them himself and to make the more delicate chemical preparations himself, since this trouble will be compensated for by the good quality of the articles.

In the case of a good many medicines he briefly describes their medicinal use. On this subject he writes in the preface: "By mentioning in the case of simple drugs their principal uses and their medicinal properties, I am departing from the practice of many recent authors who omit this as though such information were useless or even injurious to the apothecary, because it favours the practice of counter-prescribing. A short notice of the uses of drugs could not be the means of causing apothecaries who had a proper sense of the dignity of the calling

* Hufeland's *Journ.*, 1800, Vol. IX., St. 2, p. 83.

† Buchholz, *Taschenbuch für Scheidekünstler und Apotheker*, 1815, p. 57. J. R. Bischoff, *Ansichten über das bisher. Heilverfahren, &c.* Prague, 1819, p. 121.

to indulge in unauthorized practice ; they have it in their power to earn far greater renown by faithfully performing their duty. They would not degrade the position of the apothecary upon whose integrity depends life and health, and by whose knowledge should be formed the weapons by means of which the shattered machinery of the human body is restored, to that of an ignorant quack who is as much beneath him as a pestilent bog is beneath the beneficent sun.

“ Such a short indication of the uses of drugs cannot give rise to dabbling in medicine. If they read that powdered oyster-shells relieves acidity of the stomach, this does not tell them when such acidity of the stomach is present, or by what morbid symptoms it is manifested.

“ But a short notice of the use of a drug is useful to the apothecary, since he will be much more likely to remember the dry description of the remedy if it be impressed on his memory through its medical properties, whereby it ceases to be indifferent to him, but on the contrary, becomes more interesting and worthy of his attention. Things, the use of which we do not know are indifferent to us, they interest us as little as the mere letters of a word, the sense of which we have forgotten. Only an indication of their utility, whether real or imaginary, gives us an interest in the otherwise useless knowledge of their history, which now acquires life, substance and interest.”

The *Apothekerlexicon* appeared in numbers and was thus noticed by the *Medizinisch-chirurgische Journal*.* “ The author has written a work which is of great use to the practical apothecary, and even to the physician. It compares favourably with other similar works and enables us to dispense entirely with Fiedler’s *Apothekerlexicon*. This work is not a mere compilation, but it contains many new ideas, hints and valuable improvements. Some articles are especially good (examples are given). If all apothecaries would attend to what the author says with regard to the extracts (especially of the narcotic plants),

* 1793, III., 171⁷

many practitioners would obtain successful results from their employment and would no longer doubt the efficacy of these remedies. The reviewer ardently desires the continuation of this work." A distilling apparatus invented by Hahnemann is then spoken of.

With regard to the next number, complaint* is made that Hahnemann had introduced many disused drugs, and that some articles were inferior. Hahnemann completely refutes these criticisms in a reply he made.† "Nevertheless some of the articles are very well done, and the reviewer would pronounce the whole work excellent if they were all equally so. Everything the author says on the subject of fermentation and poisons is to the purpose and convincing."

Apropos of the next number the reviewer writes (1799, II. 411): "A work of this kind by a man who has made himself a name in Germany, both as a chemist and as a practitioner, deserves especial recommendation. Especially excellent articles in this number are those on the laboratory, precipitation, furnaces, oils, pills, modes of preparation. In the article on phosphoric acid, the author gives a new method, peculiar to himself, of obtaining phosphoric acid and from it phosphorus. Every article gives evidence of having been written with the greatest care."

Trommsdorff, Professor in the University of Erfurt, thus criticises the work in his *Journal der Pharmacie*: ‡ "An excellent work which every apothecary ought to procure. Brevity, lucidity, decision and yet completeness, seem as far as we can judge from this first part to distinguish this work from all others of a similar character. (Certain articles are then discussed.) We see from these few extracts that this work is not a compilation of an ordinary character. In examining the work more closely we can find very much new and important matter, and every page shows that the well informed author speaks from experience. We refer our readers to the articles: evaporation, evaporating

* 1796, I., p. 393.

† *Ib.*, IV., p. 15.

‡ 1794, II., St. I., p. 185.

vessels, clarification, separation glasses, decoction, pharmacies, elixivation, tartar emetic, distillation, extracts. We only hope that what is said by the author in these articles will be laid to heart. We recommend this work to our readers, and we wish the author leisure and continued health for the completing of this important work, which will be of great service to pharmacy."

The critic writes thus of its continuation : * " We present with sincere pleasure to our readers the continuation of this useful work which every apothecary ought to obtain. Some of the articles are extremely well written." As an example, the reviewer quotes the article on " poisons " verbatim. " Some of the other articles are equally good, and we may, therefore, expect that this work will diffuse much useful information."

We hope that this account of some of Hahnemann's works will suffice to give at least a superficial view of his services. Those who wish to understand his mental attitude must make themselves acquainted with the literature of the day on the subjects, and then read and study Hahnemann's works; no one will put them down dissatisfied and without paying a tribute to his brilliant intellect. He shares with the rest of mankind the fault of having been occasionally in error. All who strive to achieve great things are liable to occasional error.

In judging his powers of observation and his accomplishments we must not forget that he—a busy practitioner and a private man—had to contend with the foremost apothecaries, whose calling made a laboratory and chemical investigations a necessity, and with the professors of chemistry, who obtained pecuniary assistance from the State; and that he not only showed himself equal to these professionals, but surpassed most of them in knowledge of the subjects as in the services he rendered.

Finally we quote some more of the reviews of some of his works, and we will also cite the recognition he received from professionals (further on we give a list of all Hahnemann's works).

His translation of Demachy's *Liqueurfabriquant* was incidentally mentioned by Westrumb* in an essay on the distillation of brandy. "Few manufacturers have listened to my suggestions to arrange their retorts as Demachy and Hahnemann describe. These writers increased the height of the distillery vessel, gave to the helmet the form of a sugar loaf, provided it with a tube and surrounded it with a *Turk's head*. They thus saved half the time that would have otherwise been expended, a third of the materials and obtained considerably more brandy (spirit). Distillers should entirely reject the old distillery apparatus and should use the French arrangement clearly described by Hahnemann." Government should insist on the use of pit coal, "against which there is a deeply rooted prejudice."

Hahnemann translated Demachy's *Art of manufacturing vinegar*, in 1787. The *Neue Medicinische Literatur*† says: "Compared with the many wretched descriptions of the way to construct vinegar manufactories, Demachy's essay deserves commendation, and is worth being translated into German, especially as Herr Hahnemann has set his author right in many points. Hahnemann has taken the opportunity to correct the mistakes in instructive notes. Herr Hahnemann's appendix on the manufacture of vinegar, particularly that from grain is both thorough and clear."

The Economic Association of Florence, in 1785, proposed as a prize question, "the discovery of the theory of vinous fermentation, as also the description of a method adapted to the capacity of country folks of examining must, in order to treat it in a rational manner by the light of this examination." Fabbroni won the prize and Hahnemann translated the essay, *The art of making wine in accordance with rational principles*, which had

* Crell's *Annalen*, 1792, I., 490.

† Of Schlegel and Arnemann, Leipzig, 1788, pp. 56—59.

been warmly received in Italy in 1790. In Crell's *Annalen* (1790 I. 562) is mentioned "the well merited applause," which this work had received on account of its lucid investigation of the process of fermentation. "A translation was all the more desirable, and for this we are indebted to a man who has conferred so many benefits on science, both by his own works and by his valuable translations. Besides the fact that this translation is faithful and successful, Herr Hahnemann has added precious notes which expand and elucidate Fabbroni's principles; he has thus enhanced the value of the work."

Hahnemann's translation of De La Metherie *On Pure Air* was thus announced by Professor Crell: "All German physicists have cause to anticipate eagerly the translation which we may shortly expect from such a chemist as Hahnemann, a translation which he has enriched with his own notes."*

The appearance of the translation was thus welcomed: "No one will doubt that this wish is realised when we name the translator, who will certainly allow us to do so though he has not given his name himself. It is Dr. Hahnemann, a man who has rendered many services to science both by his own writings on chemistry and by his excellent translations of important foreign works. His services have been already recognised, but deserve to be still more so."

The translation of Monro's *Materia Medica*, was thus reviewed in Crell's *Chemische Annalen* (1792, II. 183): "A translation of this work was very much wanted.....Herr Hahnemann has added a great many explanatory and supplementary remarks which give the translation a great advantage over the original.....Hahnemann's excellent wine test.....his excellent soluble mercury.....his suggestion of obtaining tartar emetic by crystallization, etc., etc. By the thoroughness of his emendations Herr Hahnemann has deserved anew the gratitude of the class who will read this book."

* *Chem. Annal.*, 1790, I., p. 85.

† *Ib.* 1792, I., p. 475.

After the appearance of the translation of the *Edinburgh Dispensatory*, the *Medicin. chir. Journal* wrote (1799, I. 154): "Hahnemann has displayed much industry in editing this work and translating it into our language. His notes are short and not numerous, but they serve to explain the text from a chemical, pharmaceutical and practical point of view."

In Hufeland's *Journal** we read: "The usefulness of this work has been recognised, and it is enhanced by the translator's notes."

The *Berlinische Jahrbuch der Pharmacie* (1799, p. 141) remarked: "The thorough pharmaceutical knowledge and the industry of Dr. Hahnemann may be recognised in this translation."

Trommsdorff's *Journal der Pharmacie*† thus criticised it: "Although there is no lack of treatises of this kind in Germany, yet the present work is welcome, especially as the translation is an improvement on the English original on account of the notes by the learned Dr. Hahnemann."

In 1792 Hahnemann is alluded to in Crell's *Annalen* (I. 200) as "this celebrated chemist;" in another place, 1793 (II. 124), "this meritorious physician;" reference is also made to his services to *materia medica* (1793, I. 93).

Professor Göttling, in the *Medic. chir. Journal* (1794, I. 111), calls Hahnemann and Gren two men "whom chemistry has to thank for many important discoveries."

Professor Scherer speaks, in his *Journal der Chemie* (1799, II., p. 462), of the "meritorious Hahnemann."

Professor Gmelin, in a review of the progress of chemistry in the 18th Century,‡ mentions (besides those services of Hahnemann to which we have already alluded) his improvements of the apparatus and process for distilling brandy, as well as for the production of soda.

In reviewing a longer article by Hahnemann on the chemical examination of wine, Trommsdorff calls him the

* 1798, Vol. V., p. 469.

† 1799, Vol. V., St. 1, p. 227.

‡ In Crell's *Annalen*, 1801, I., pp. 16, 17.

“esteemed author.”* In another place,† when describing the then condition of pharmacy, he writes: “It is undoubtedly true that pharmacy has made great progress. The efforts of Gren, Göttling, Hagen, Hahnemann, Hermbstädt, Heyer, Westrumb, Wieglob and others have not failed to bear fruit.....but, notwithstanding this, its progress is by no means general, but only partial.”

Kraus says, in his *Medicinisches Lexicon*, 1826 ‡: “Hahnemann is recognised as a good pharmaceutist, and has won for himself unfading laurels by his preparation of mercurius solubilis and by his treatise on arsenical poisoning, although our knowledge of this subject has since his time been considerably advanced by others.”

Hahnemann’s spirit of research and his indefatigable industry also largely contributed both directly and indirectly to the improvement of medicinal agents, which are the foundation of the art of medicine. But all these services fade into insignificance when compared with the everlasting fame he has won in the narrower field of medical science.

HAHNEMANN, AS A PHYSICIAN.

State of medicine when he commenced practice.

In order to judge of Hahnemann’s achievements in the field of medicine, it is necessary to glance at the condition of medicine at the commencement of his career, when no such method of investigation, founded on natural laws, as we have to-day, was as yet in existence. The conceptions of the phenomena presented by the healthy and the sick, were forced into systems, deduced from scanty observations by individual authors, and altered from time to time to suit the views of the period and new discoveries by them.

Thus, L. Hoffmann (1721-1807), found that most diseases were produced by impure and acid humours which were to be expelled from the body, or ameliorated by “antiseptic” or “dulcifying” remedies.

* *Jour. der Pharmacie*, 1794, II., 48.

† *Ib.*, 1795, II., St. 2, p. 25.

‡ Göttingen, 1826, 2nd edit., p. 404.

Stoll (1742-1788) taught that diseases arose from the influence of a predominant constitution which was determined "by the prevailing weather and epidemic fevers." In all diseases the physician had to pay the greatest attention to the condition of the "primæ viæ"; most illnesses resulted from gastric impurities, especially bile. The removal of these matters by emetics and purgatives was the principal means resorted to. If signs of bile were absent in the evacuations, in the appearance, and in the taste of the patient, it was a case of latent bile "bilis latens." Purgatives and emetics demonstrated the truth of these theories. At the same time, "latent inflammations" had to be contended against, wherein lay a great danger in many diseases. According to the testimony of A. F. Hecker,* this doctrine was regarded as one of the most brilliant advances in the medical art, and doctors betook themselves to Vienna from all parts of Europe to learn "the successful Stoll method."

Another physician writes: † "Stoll is the greatest living physician. He stands, as he deserves, in a position of great repute, and all intelligent persons in Vienna are attended by him."

Kämpf (1726-1789) alleged that most diseases have their seat in the abdomen, and are due to "infarcts." "By infarctus, I understand an unnatural condition of the bloodvessels, especially of the portal veins and larger bloodvessels, in which they are plugged and distended in various places by ill-concocted, variously degenerated, fluid-bereft, inspissated, viscid, bilious, polypous and coagulated blood, tarrying and eventually sticking in the circulation, or in which the inspissated serum in the blood, in the glands, in the cellular tissue, together with the above-mentioned blood-dregs, collects, corrupts, dries, and takes on various forms of degeneration in the digestive passages....."

* *Die Heilkunde auf ihren Wegen*, Erfurt and Gotha, 1819.

† *Medicin. Literat. f. prakt. Aerzte*, von Schlegel. Leipzig, 1787, XII., p. 99.

"These infarctus spare no age, sex, or temperament; even infants are not free from them. I can think of very few diseases or accidents which do not arise originally from infarctus." He gives as instances, epilepsy, grey and black cataract, deafness, consumption, abdominal diseases, bladder affections, all kinds of exanthemata, cancer, scurvy, fever, tympanites, dropsy, jaundice, &c."

Clysters consisting of taraxicum, rad. graminis, saponaria, card. bened., fumaria, marrub. alb., millefol., chamomill., verbas., rye- and wheat-bran; to which various "appropriate" drugs were added, all being made into extracts by means of rain or lime-water, were employed to disperse these infarctus.

"Without detriment to the health, two to three clysters can be taken daily for as many years.....Often the labours of a Hercules are required to cleanse such an astoundingly laden, old, intractable bog, and to overcome the stony, and as it were wedged-in degeneration of the blood."*

A physician wrote: † "I have treated many sick persons who have taken more than five thousand clysters before they entirely got rid of the infarctus."

Kämpf also recommends his method for prolonging life. He found a great number of followers among physicians, who expressed their approbation and gratitude for this discovery. "Here again is an achievement of which Germans may be proud.....let me offer my heartfelt thanks to the author."‡ Another§ says: "Kämpf's method has too many generally acknowledged advantages ever to lose, at all events, with sensible people, its well-earned reputation.....This universally-read book." At the same

* Joh. Kämpf, Oberhofrath, erster. Leibarzt, &c., für Aerzte und Kranke bestimmte Abhandlung von einer neuen Methode, die hartnäckigsten Krankheiten, &c., 2nd Aufl., Leipzig, 1786, p. 576.

† Bei G. W. C. Müller, Joh. Kämpf, *Abhandl.* &c., Leipzig, 1788, p. 86.

‡ *Medicin. Literat.* von Schlegel. Leipzig, 1785, p. 34.

§ *Neue literar. Nachrichten für Aerzte, &c.* Halle, 1787, p. 319.

time, the number of its mutilated reprints and spurious editions was complained of.*

Hecker, *l.c.*, testifies that many patients used thousands of such clysters, and the method of treatment by clysters was in much vogue among physicians, patients and even healthy persons, for many years.

“Stases, stoppages and obstructions” in all manner of organs figured as the chief cause of many diseases, so that a homœopath could write, many years later, perhaps with a little exaggeration:† “By the belief in the existence of stoppages, obstructions, &c., we can understand why among ten prescriptions nine contain senna, spirits of wine, dandelion, rhubarb, sal-ammoniac, mercury, dog’s grass and antimony; for these drugs were originally suggested because they were supposed to cleanse the tubes and passages of the human body from their foul accumulations like brooms, scrubbing brushes and clearing rods. Whether the patient be red or pale, fat or thin, consumptive or dropsical, whether he have lost his appetite or suffer from ravenous hunger, be constipated or have diarrhoea, it is all one; he has obstructions and stoppages, and must be sweated and purged, puked, bled and salivated. If you see a physician pausing in meditation, believe me, if he is not thinking of ‘inflammation,’ he is thinking of ‘stasis.’” To illustrate this a well-known writer, Scheidemantel,‡ is quoted. He says that a student was cured of melancholy through being greatly frightened during a sea voyage by a collision between two ships. Explanation: “Perhaps the melancholy student had obstruction of the bowels which was removed when his ship struck against the other, and thereby shook him severely.”

Towards the end of 1790, the system of the Scotchman, John Brown (1736—1788), began to spread over Germany. Brown was possessed of great assurance. In his own opinion he first raised medicine to the position of a true

* *Medic. Fourn.*, von Baldinger, 1787, XI., p. 25.

† *Die Allöopathie*, 1834, No. 19.

‡ *Die Leidenschaften als Heilmittel betrachtet*, Hildburghausen, 1787.

science to which the name of "the Science of Nature" was soon given. According to this every human being possesses a greater or less degree of irritability. Health depends upon the possession of just the right amount of irritation. Disease is produced either by too much irritation (sthenia) or want of irritation (asthenia). The task of the physician was simply to moderate the excess of irritation, or to strengthen the too weak irritation. Thus all diseases were divided into two classes and also all remedies, these were "sthenic" and "asthenic." In affections depending upon too much strength, "irritation diminishing" drugs were employed, which in the order of their efficiency, were bleeding, cold, emetics, purgatives, diaphoretics. In the asthenic forms of disease, sthenic remedies were employed, which, in the order of their efficiency, were meat, heat, prevention of vomiting, purging and sweating, by meat diet, spices, wine, exercise; in the more severe cases of disease, volatile stimulants: musk, ammonia, camphor, ether and opium.* Cinchona was first added by the followers of Brown. Knowledge of the structure and functions of the organism was only of minor importance, for everything depended on the irritants and the degree of irritability. "So great," says Brown, "is the simplicity to which medicine can be reduced, that a physician when he comes to the sick-bed will only have to elicit three things. First, whether the disease is general or local; secondly, if general, whether sthenic or asthenic; thirdly, in what stage of irritation it is. When he has satisfied himself on these three points, nothing remains but to settle his indications and plan of treatment, and carry it out by means of the corresponding remedies."† The diagnosis was only of minor importance.

Contemporaneously with Brown, the natural philosophy founded by Schelling‡ made its appearance and quickly

* Comp. B. Hirschel, *Geschichte des Brown'schen Systems.* Dresden and Leipzig, 1846, p. 37.

† K. Sprengel, *Geschichte der Heilkunde.* Halle, 1828, V. I., p. 455

‡ First edition of his *System der Naturphilosophie*, Jena u. Leipzig 1799.

distanced all inferior conceptions. It grappled with and explained all phenomena by the absolute. We may form some conception of its influence on medicine by reading the following sentences: "The mouth masticates and the stomach digests by the same process of vegetation; the difference of these phenomena is only the result of their different mechanism." "Living matter is a print or picture of absolute nature; and, again, absolute nature herself is absolute life, and the prototype of the organism." "Life is cause; phenomenon and existence are its results. Life as cause is immortal, for immortal cause is life." "Life is the infinite, disease the finite, and the cure is to be considered as the synthesis of both (the third power)." "Contagion is the magnetic moment of the dynamic process reigning in the organism." After the statement that the essence lay in the conception of the magnet, "which is connected with the identical pole," it is further said: "Only in this way do we get a true idea of contagion, and come to a true explanation of this long misunderstood process."*

One of the most prominent natural philosophers was Henrich Steffens, "a deep and scientific thinker."† In Oken's periodical, *Isis* (1822, p. 123), he is put on a level with Aristotle, Humboldt, Goethe, Treviranus, Oken, and others. He wrote a book, *Elements of Natural Philosophy*, Berlin, 1806. This work was "a spring out of which arose a series of philosophical works," and gave the following information, pages 189-191: "Feeling is the identity of external oscillation and internal being, consequently, identity of the nervous and muscular systems. Unity of the internal factor and difference of the external gives sensation; difference of the internal and unity of the external sensation of warmth.

"Hearing is the identity of the relative anorganic of the organization and its internal being; consequently, identity of the nervous and osseous systems.

"Hunger is internal tension of the assimilation under

* Comp. Hecker, *l.c.*

† Hecker's *Annalen*, II., p. 353.

the influence of the mass opposed to external, hence the feeling of hunger at the cardiac orifice of the stomach."

And further, page 186: "Animalization is identical with the internal becoming objective. The manifestation of the internal is sensation. There is no animalization without sensation. Sensation under the influence of the universal is feeling; sensation under the influence of individuality is consciousness."

Steffens dedicated his work to the "Delphic Temple of Higher Poetry," and in fact most of these persons moved almost entirely in the higher regions of the clouds, and the human being with whom their investigations had to do remained on the earth, but they up there enjoyed a heavenly existence. They were far above all controversy. "True natural philosophy," says Steffens, "puts an end to all contradiction and all controversy of opinions and hypotheses with other opinions and hypotheses, and can, therefore, have no opponent." "A true saying," remarks a critic.* True natural philosophy knew everything and explained everything. "Natural philosophy has the priority of knowledge, for it is the knowledge of knowledge, and must be regarded as potentized knowledge."†

It is astonishing the assurance with which every phenomenon was explained without hesitation. "Magnetism is the conversion of oxygen and hydrogen into carbon and nitrogen," says Steffens, page 91, and Schelling knew‡ that oxygen is the principle of electricity.

The whirligig of Natural Philosophy took possession of the heads of the majority of German savants and the most prominent physicians. Very few escaped it, as Hufeland, A. v. Humboldt, Blumenbach, Treviranus, Sömmerring, Wedekind. There was, however, no system which could be generally followed. There were, indeed, men who knew the direction the medical accessory sciences should take, but they could not obtain a hearing because they were suffering from the spirit of the age.

* Hecker's *Annalen*, II., p. 444.

† Steffens, *l.c.*, p. 16.

‡ *L.c.*, p. 248.

Reil, in his doctrine of fevers and in his *Archiv für Physiologie*, brought prominently forward the doctrine that disease was not to be conceived as a foreign thing, but depended upon the altered form and composition of the animal substance; health also depended upon certain rules of form and composition. Disease was departure from normal form and composition, that is, anatomical and chemical change.

In what condition was physiological chemistry in those days? To what conclusions did its appreciation lead? Let us take an instance from the advanced year 1810: About this time a book which had newly appeared entitled *The Complete Description and Examination of Spontaneous Combustion* was reviewed in Hecker's *Annalen*.* "This disease manifests itself," so it says, "by the sudden ignition of the human organism and its combustion with the appearance of flames, so that only ashes or coal, in one case only a spot of grease remained of the whole body."† We are chiefly interested in the chemical explanation of this phenomenon as given in the work quoted:

1. "The whole body of the consumed persons was penetrated through all its cells by hydrogen gas, at least in sufficient quantities to suffice for its first ignition and the maintenance of the fire."

2. "An excess of other inflammable matters, as sulphur and phosphorus, was simultaneously present."

3. "The body, thus in a high degree inflammable, was not ignited by external fire, but by an electric explosion in its interior; the electric spark quickly permeated the body filled with inflammable matter."

On this Hecker remarks: "This theory of spontaneous combustion is certainly as satisfactory a one as can be given in the present state of our knowledge and with the imperfectly observed facts."

* II., p. 547.

† Comp. Justus Liebig *On the Spontaneous Combustion of the Human Body*, Heidelberg, 1850, p. 31. By this work the ghosts of forty-eight spontaneous combustions were laid.

A. von Humboldt with others opposed the "disease-matter" theory. "Disease-matter is really the whole living matter itself, so far as its form and composition are changed and the balance of its elements is disturbed."* Medical men were too impatient to utilise this theory, they wanted to reap when they had barely finished sowing. The immense progress made by chemistry through the discoveries of Lavoisier, especially the newly discovered knowledge of the significance of oxygen, caused researchers to utilise this advance also for medicine. So, according to Humboldt (*I.c.*), want or excess of oxygen is the proximate cause of disease, "because oxygen combines with phosphorus, sulphur, nitrogen, carbon and hydrogen, and produces acids which diminish the energy of the nerves, thereby deranging the functions of the secreting organs." In Humboldt's famous work, which was abreast of the knowledge of the day, we read that hydrogen is contained in plumbago and similar views. Although Humboldt opposed the "disease-matter" and "acid-acridities" theories, he nevertheless held that "an acid is at work in the production of scrofula," and with Haller discussed the question "whether in convulsions alkaline or acid acridities were irritating the spinal marrow."†

It was indeed very tempting to utilise the great chemical discoveries in the treatment of disease. About the middle of the eighteenth century Haller thus described the blood : "The blood consists of equal parts, is coagulable and all the redder the better the animal is nourished ; in a weak hungry animal it is yellowish. The white sometimes mixed with it generally comes from the chyle."

In 1789, about thirty years later, J. F. Blumenbach, the famous Göttingen professor, teaches :‡ "Blood is a peculiar fluid of a well-known colour, sometimes lighter, sometimes darker, viscid to the touch and warm, and as it cannot be

* *Versuche über die gereizte Muskel und Nervenfaser nebst Vermuthungen über den chem. Process des Lebens.* Posen and Berlin, 1797, II., p. 359.

† *Ib.*, II., pp. 360 and 379.

‡ *Anfangsgründe der Physiologie* Vienna, 1789, § 6.

imitated by art, it must be considered as one of the secrets of nature." In all this time no progress seemed to have been made. In 1803 this was taught :* "Blood consists of nine ingredients: odoriferous matter, fibrinous parts, albumen, sulphur, gelatine, iron, potash, soda, and lastly water..... the elements of the blood are: hydrogen, carbon, potassium, chlorine, phosphorus, sulphur, oxygen, calcium and iron."

Thus physiological chemistry had made great progress, and this excited so much admiration that an attempt was made to utilise these discoveries. Garnett recommended sulphuret of potash, sulphate of lime and wood charcoal, in consumption. The sulphuret of potash produced sulphuretted hydrogen, the hydrogen of this combined with the oxygen of the blood and the inflammatory action of the latter was paralysed. J. J. Busch recommends sulphur and hepar sulphuris in pulmonary consumption; this produced "a mephitic vapour" in the ulcerated lung, and thereby impeded the destructive action of the oxygen. Girtanner, of Göttingen, followed in the wake of the Englishman Beddoes, in whose method of treatment various gases, nitrogen, hydrogen, &c., were inhaled by means of a special apparatus (an improvement of Menzies's) as a remedy for phthisis, the process being minutely described and illustrated in Hufeland's *Journal*, 1795, I., p. 199. Others prescribed chlorate of potash in scurvy, syphilis and nervous fever, in order that the oxygen of this salt might be liberated in the body. Alkalies were recommended in dysentery to extinguish the "septic acids;" carbonate of potash was indicated in puerperal fever to neutralise the "excessive acidity" which was the cause of this complaint. In diabetes, oxygen preponderated; "all the fluids of the body were saturated with oxygen." Hence the good effects of an animal diet, of milk, of meat, of sulphuretted hydrogen and of limewater.

* F. Kapp, *System. Darstellung der durch die neuere Chemie in der Heilkunde bewirkten Veränderungen und Verbesserungen*. Hof, 1805, p. 31.

Reich considered oxygen the only sure remedy for the febrile state, which he considered dependent upon the undue development and accumulation of nitrogen, carbon, hydrogen, sulphur, and phosphorus. He was professor of medicine in Erlangen and Berlin; in various journals, and in a special work,* he recommended a secret remedy for fever which he would only reveal for a large sum of money. This remedy would in a short time, or even at once, cut short a fever. A committee of four doctors instituted experiments in the Berlin Charité Hospital, and considered its action proved in a number of cases. After the report of this commission the professor was decreed "an annual pension of 500 thalers, free of tax and stamp duty" by the King of Prussia for the publication of his secret; in case of his death half of it went to his widow.† This became known before the great remedy against fever was revealed and it was eagerly awaited. Curiosity was at length gratified in the autumn of 1800. It consisted of sulphuric and muriatic acid; nitric acid was also good in certain conditions.‡

Baumes, Girtanner and other others founded a system. Most diseases were explained and cured in a chemical way. They arose from excess or want of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen and phosphorus. Accordingly there were "oxygenous" remedies:—antimony, mercury, iron, lead, gold, silver, cinchona, acids, camphor, ether, alcohol, narcotics—"hydrogenous" remedies: oleagineous bodies, sedentary habits, fat meat, fish—"nitrogenous" remedies: meat, and "deoxidizing" agents; lastly, "phosphoric" remedies: fish, phosphates of lime and soda, phosphoric acid.

Electricity was treated in a similar manner. According to Schelling, as has been said, oxygen was "the principle of electricity." Juch was quite certain that oxygen played the chief rôle in electricity, while Erxleben considered it to con-

* G. C. Reich, *Beschreibung der mit seinen neuen Mittel behandelten Krankheitsfälle*. Nürnberg, 1800.

† *Med. Chir. Ztg.* Salzburg, 1800, III., 315.

‡ *Ib.*, 1799, IV., 189; 1800, I., 25, and IV. 292.]

sist of oxygen, hydrogen and heat. Leiner believed it to be composed of hydrogen and oxygen.*

These various views and systems, and other ones besides, reigned almost simultaneously in Germany at the end of the last and the beginning of this century. And even if one theory was superseded by another, still something of each stuck in people's heads. Each tried to discover what best suited his views. Many went over from one theory to another. Wedekind,† ex-professor of clinical medicine at Mainz, thus pictures a doctor of that period : "I know a physician who at one time adopted the heating and sweating method. How much *essentia alexipharmica*, *mistura simplex* and *composita Stahlii* did he not daily prescribe ! He was also a great partisan of bleeding, and I do not doubt that he often by it counteracted the baneful effects of his heating remedies and *vice versa*. But the triumvirate of Boerhaave, Stahl and Fr. Hoffmann was drawing to an end. Tissot had become the leading authority. Our practitioner now advocated the cooling method. Tamarinds, cream of tartar, saltpetre, oxymel, and barley-water were his favourite remedies. He forbade healthy people to smoke, because Tissot had asserted that *all tobacco-smokers must die in their prime of apoplexy*.

"When Stoll became the leading authority among physicians, we find tartar emetic and ipecac. in most of their prescriptions. They were, of course, devoted to the administration of clysters when Kämpf was in vogue. C. L. Hoffmann was called to occupy the place that had been held by this physician. Accustomed to follow the spirit of the age, they now exaggerated what this great thinker taught concerning antiseptic remedies. How can fashionable practitioners understand the meaning of an author ? Enough, our physicians did not observe how the functions of their patients were carried on, in order to ascertain how far these were injurious or advantageous to the maintenance of the body, but they proceeded forthwith to cure every disease by means of antiseptics. A few years later Brown became dictator

* Comp. Kapp. *I.c.*

† *Ueber den Werth der Heilkunde.* Darmstadt, 1812, p. 212.

in medicine, and 'Methodism' ruled the fashion. Our practitioners now called those physicians who devoted themselves to remedy vices in the fluids of the body, or to procure evacuation of depraved humors, murderers; for to believe in such vices showed the greatest ignorance. Their practice was summed up in four words—sthenia, asthenia, sthenic influence, asthenic vices. Very few of their prescriptions were without naptha, laudanum, ether, musk, or sal-ammoniac. They were now as much in favour of wine, brandy, and meat diet, as they had been against them at the time when Tissot was the ruling deity. Now they returned to purging in order to cure local affections, and tried to unite all these different modes of treatment. Therefore, they now refused to be called Brownians, and insisted upon being called eclectics."

The therapeutic text-books for students and physicians were as variously coloured as maps. "Ontology," the idea that a disease is a foreign thing carrying on its evil ends in the system, has met with wide acceptance from the days of Galen. Hence the evacuant method was supreme. Further, there was a stimulating, a strengthening, a weakening, a softening, an antagonistic, a restorative (not to be confounded with the strengthening), an astringent which increased the cohesion, a relaxing which diminished the cohesion, a derivative and a resolving method, and also a specific, antimiasmatic, antiseptic and antigastric method.*

The various remedies were fitted on to these methods; thus there were demulcent, diluent, dissolving, inspissating, blood-cleansing, cooling, evacuating and expectorant, &c., drugs. To order a simple remedy was not the custom. We still find the idea that it is necessary that a prescription should contain a basis, a *constituens*, an *adjuvans*, a *corrugens* and a *dirigens*. Complex prescriptions containing 8, 10, or more drugs were in daily use. There were so-called "magistral-formulas," complex mixtures composed by "authorities" as remedies for certain diseases, and

* See Hufeland, *System der prakt. Heilkunde*. Jena, 1818, and others.

sanctioned by "experience." They were kept ready made by the apothecaries, and no one dared to alter them.

These prescriptions were changed every day in acute diseases, in chronic every two or three days, as the cases reported in the medical journals show; and what incredible quantities of drugs were poured into the sick man's body! All the various systems out-did one another in this practice.

The Brownians, *e.g.*, gave in typhus fever, together with other remedies, 10—12 drops of opium every quarter of an hour till sleep was induced, when the dose was to be doubled, and was then to be gradually increased "till the health of the patient could be maintained by less powerful stimulants." In "indirect debility," 150 drops of laudanum, which means 0.70 grammes of pure opium, were to be given at once, and in the sequel the necessary doses gradually diminished till the desired result was attained. In difficult labours, the ordinary cause of which was recognised to be "weakness," the parturient woman, according to Brown, was to be supported with wine, and if the labour was tedious and difficult, with opium. Opium (later also cinchona) was with this school the best remedy in all diseases depending on weakness. There were physicians who, according to their own statement, prescribed several pounds of pure opium in the year. "Thousands of sick persons, and among them the most hopeful young subjects, were sacrificed to the rage for opium," as Hufeland said later.*

Similar results were produced by the "antiphlogistic method," which was employed by many physicians in inflammations and inflammatory fevers. Bleeding, salt-petre, calomel in large doses till the teeth were loosened, and energetic salivation were the "matadors" of the antiphlogistic school, supplemented often by evacuating agents, such as emetics and purgatives. Many physicians troubled themselves little about the local affection in "general debility;" for this they prescribed simply iron, cinchona, and

* Hufeland's *Journ.*, XXXII., St. 2, p. 16.

a number of other bitter drugs. There are few diseases in the treatment of which one can say that the physicians of that day did no harm.

Pathological anatomy was little cultivated in Germany. The Brownians did not require it for their therapeutics. Those among the remainder who relied upon the results of post mortem examinations allowed themselves to be misled by crude conceptions. If they found congestion of blood in the organs, or even mortification, this confirmed the indication for bleeding and the other antiphlogistic means of treatment. Accumulations of bile, depraved humours and mucus, indicated the employment of evacuating agents. Exudations required derivatives, &c.

Did physicians feel satisfied with such a condition of the healing art? Most seemed satisfied with themselves. There were, however, severe critics who were not much better hands at treatment than the others. Marcus Herz, for instance, 1795 (in Hufeland's *Journal*); Girtanner, 1798;* Wedekind, 1812 (*l.c.*); Kieser, 1819,† and others. Girtanner, who helped to complete the confusion by spreading the Brownian and chemical theories, exclaims: "As the healing art has no fixed principles, as nothing is demonstrated clearly in it, as there is little certain and reliable experience in it, every physician has the right to follow his own opinion. When there is no question of real knowledge, where everyone is only guessing, one opinion is as good as another. In the dense Egyptian darkness of ignorance in which physicians are groping their way, not even the faintest ray of light has penetrated by means of which they can steer their course. I don't care if anyone feels offended by what I say. My object is not to give offence, but to maintain the truth. If any practitioner is not satisfied with my opinions, let him examine his own conscience and ascertain of how many medical truths he is certain. He who can point out to me certainty in medicine may throw the first stone at me."

* *Ausführliche Darstellung des Brown'schen Systems.* Göttingen, 1798, II., pp. 608—610.

† *System der Medicin.* 1819.

These critics, however, did not themselves see the deeper lying causes of this confusion. Physicians did not know how to observe. Instead of collecting only facts and drawing no further inferences from them than they warranted, they fastened upon single observations, made comparisons, created theories, and cooked the facts so as to suit these theories. The science of natural philosophy lent these speculations wings, and they were raised completely out of the regions of actuality into the blue ether.

At the same time with the majority of physicians, the desire for knowledge was very limited. Many complaints were made of this. Professor Baldinger lamented that not only many physicians, but even many professors showed little zeal for study. "I know one professor of medicine, who will not admit more than nineteen books into his library. If a twentieth volume were dedicated to him, and sent to him carriage paid, bound in morocco, he at once sells it to the library of his university."* Of universities, indeed, there was no dearth; at the end of the last and in the first decade of the present century there were not less than 40 universities where German was the language spoken, among which, however, only a part were able to provide their medical courses with clinical instruction.

The state of professional amenity corresponded to the condition of medical knowledge. "A savage partisan spirit," writes Professor Roose, in 1803,† "has taken possession of many minds and seems to be spreading universally. Physicians split into sects, every one of which embitters the others by violent and often unfounded contradiction, and so prevents all possibility of doing good. Dogmatism and a persecuting spirit are becoming commoner and commoner among physicians, and they are only distinguished from the dogmatism and persecution of enraged religious sects of former times by being fortunately powerless to arm the secular authorities with fire and sword against their adver-

* *Medic. Journ.* v. Baldinger, 1790, St. 23, p. 16.

† Horn's *Archiv f. med. Erf.*, III., p. 1.

saries. If the spirit of the age permitted the establishment of a revealed medical art with us as with the Asiatics, there would undoubtedly be a Catholic and a Protestant confession, and there would not be wanting either a pope for the one or a chief pastor for the other."

The more uncertain a physician feels of his own skill the more loudly he calls to the State for assistance against the quack and charlatan. It was so in those days. Wedekind (*l.c.*, p. 38) describes a debate among physicians who espoused the reigning opinions; one of them shouted out: "The scientific physician will be ruined unless he is favoured in every way by the Government."

A sad condition for the said "science" to be in, but which accounts for the embittered disputes related in the course of this work.

Hahnemann's Services to Medicine.

What instruction had Hahnemann in the art of medicine? It cannot be proved that any physician exercised a special influence over him and gave him a particular bent. He himself indeed speaks with great reverence of Quarín. He writes, in 1791, "I owe to him whatever there is of physician in me." It nevertheless seems as if the feeling of a debt of gratitude to Quarín for favours received (see below) was not without influence in inducing him to make this statement. Freiherr von Quarín, born in 1733, was body physician to Maria Theresa and the Emperor Joseph; he filled six times the post of rector of the university of Vienna. He died in 1812 of "debility." His medical works did not meet with general acceptance among the profession.* Several of his works† exist, which will well repay

* "Under other auspices the General Hospital of Vienna would gain more," was said of Quarín in the *Medic. Litteratur für prakt. Aerzte*, von Schlegel. Leipzig, 1787, XII., p. 99.

† *Heilmethode der Entzündungen*. Aus d. Lat. von J. Zadig de Metza, Copenhagen, 1776. *Heilmethode der Fieber*. Aus d. Lat. vom Vorigen, Copenhagen, 1777. *Animadversiones practicæ in diversos morbos*, II. vols., Vienna, 1786. *Praktische Bemerkungen ueber versch. Krankheiten*. Aus d. Lat., Vienna. *De curandis febribus et inflam-*

careful study if we wish to decide how far Quarín's influence over Hahnemann extended. That Quarín was an advocate of bleeding till the day of his death (1812) appears certain.

The first considerable medical work of Hahnemann appeared in 1784, *Guide to the Radical Cure of Old Sores and Foul Ulcers.** Old ulcers of the leg and fistulæ were specially meant. In the preface he says:—

The majority of physicians would have nothing to do with them, but left them to the bath man, the shepherd and the hangman, more from ignorance than disgust. The fame of practising such heroic treatment smells much worse than the foetid discharge.

The mode of treatment of ordinary physicians and surgeons consisted in "purification of the blood," bleeding, cupping, sweating and purging. The chief external remedies used were the lead preparations, especially lead ointments and plasters. Hahnemann even when a young physician seems to have been unaffected by the prevalent belief in authority.

The finishing stroke to the treatment of such cases is generally given by old wives, the hangman, the farrier, the shepherd and death. For all that I am not too proud to confess that horse and cow doctors are frequently more successful, that is to say, more skilful in curing old sores than the most learned professor and member of all the academies. Let this not be denounced as mere empiricism; I would like to possess their workmanlike expedients which are founded on experience, often, it is true, gained in the treatment of animals, but which I would willingly exchange for many medical folios, if they were to be had at that price. But, on the other hand, far be it from me to draw from them general rules for my treatment or to prefer irrational quackery to the well-considered medical theories deduced from the observations and experience of illustrious and honest men. I know the limits of both.

The want of any principle for the discovery of the curative powers of drugs was even then a cause of complaint with him.

Thus much, however, is true, and it may make us more modest, that almost all our knowledge of the curative powers of simple and

mationibus, Vienna, 1786. *Ueber den Nutzen und Schaden der Insecten. Ueber die Verschiedenheit der Salze u. ihren Gebrauch. Versuche ueber die Cicuta virosa.*

* Translated in *Brit. Jour. of Hom.*, XLII., p. 101, *et seq.*

natural as well as artificial substances is mainly derived from the rude and automatic procedures of the common people, and that the wise physician often draws conclusions from the effects of the so-called domestic remedies which are of inestimable importance to him, and their value leads him to adopt simple natural means to the great advantage of his patients. I will spare my readers proofs of this.

In pages 43 and 180, he alludes to several shepherds and quacks who were thoroughly rational and obtained good results. If we read this work we shall in many cases see Hahnemann's independent mode of excogitating medical subjects. Naturally he still adhered to the old treatment. In women about the climacteric he still recommended bleeding, as he did in fever under certain circumstances and with caution (p. 79); he, however, blames the usual excessive blood-letting, and commends the action of cinchona in fever "even in severe cases" (p. 69). He was a great enemy to coffee (p. 78), but a great advocate of exercise and open air, and also of the beneficial action of change of climate and residence at the seaside, all things which were then little spoken of in medical works.

Next to nourishment, exercise is what is most important for the animal machine, by it the clockwork is wound up. These delicate creatures should not be confined to needlework, nor allowed to loiter over the toilet table, to play cards, to pay tedious visits or to read enervating books, whereby they would be reduced to the condition of colourless plants grown in a cellar. Exercise and wholesome air alone suffice to determine all the juices of our body to their proper place, compel the excretory organs to throw off their accumulated moisture, give strength to the muscles, communicate to the blood its highest degree of redness, attenuate the humours so that they can readily penetrate the remotest capillary vessels, strengthen the heart's beats, establish healthy digestion, and are the best means for obtaining repose and sleep, whereby refreshment and renewal of the vital spirits are secured (p. 76).

Strengthening diet, wholesome air and exercise, together with amusement to the mind, are indispensable, and everyone knows their power and can employ them. Nourishment suited to the body in appropriate quantity is the only thing required to ensure healthy digestion and to eliminate the bad juices from the *primæ viæ*; exercise promotes the appetite, strengthens the digestion, and better than all purgatives expels the excess of evil humours by the natural outlets of the body every movement of the limbs conduces to the strengthening of the circulation of the blood and to the completeness of the assimilation of the nutritive fluids—there can be no health without exercise.

Where is the remedy that can more agreeably and more certainly remove the decomposing ferment in our blood-vessels that always tends to destroy our machine than pure air? With every breath we draw a quantity of it into our lungs, its purest etherial part, the source of our corporeal heat, penetrates by means of the exhalent vessels of the innumerable arteries of these organs into the mass of the blood and expels the unwholesome spoilt air, the air we expire. It is only in the pure open air that we feel refreshed by breathing; in cellars and close rooms full of living creatures we become weak, faint and die, often in a few hours if the air is much spoilt by the breath of many persons. These different effects of the air we breathe convince us that life and health are not to be expected without pure air (p. 94).

Further on he discusses the habits of life, the occupation, the division of the day and the conditions of the dwellings in a short, concise and convincing manner. How seldom was hygiene considered in a therapeutic work in those days? How many books on therapeutics were written which contained no mention of hygiene! We do not even meet with the *word* hygiene in its present sense. There were as yet no precautions taken for preserving health. If we consult Hufeland's *Journal*, which was founded 11 years later, and in which the most eminent practitioners wrote, we shall have to search through all its numbers till the year 1830 to be able to extract as much concerning hygiene in several decennia of this much later period as Hahnemann has scattered through his work of 192 small octavo pages on a surgical complaint. Even in the year 1828, the allopaths were reproached by an opponent of Hahnemann's for the small amount of trouble they gave themselves about these important matters compared with him. There were very few exceptions, as, for instance, Hufeland, as his *Macrobiotik*, which appeared 12 years later (1796), shows, though we see from his neglect of diet and hygienic measures in his *Journal* that he had not grasped their importance. Hahnemann prescribes exactly what should be the diet and occupation, the position of the sitting and bedrooms, and frequency of the renewal of their air (p. 98, *et seq.*).

Amusement is necessary; I do not approve of solitary forced labour and exercise. Consequently, I always endeavour, whenever possible, to bring my patients into a state of disposition free from care and worry, whereby alone, as I believe, the wearing friction which the

mind and body exercise on one another in our organism may be lessened.

Varied, agreeable society, with occasional music, is the best thing for cheering the human soul that is not depressed to the condition of an insensible lump, and even should we meet with persons sunk so low among our patients, they must at first be forced to go into society, just as we force the child to swallow the healing draught. They should even accustom themselves to social converse at the sacrifice of more remunerative occupations, until they acquire a taste for it, especially when morality, temperance, and exercise can be combined with it. How else can we get rid of care or acquire a hopeful view of life except amid a happy throng of our like-minded fellow creatures, amongst whom we can cast off the burdens of life, and mutually bestrew our paths with flowers?

The strictest cleanliness in dress and in the whole mode of life must be maintained, along with exercise, open air, and recreation. Cleanliness is the spice of all the operations of life, and without it the most costly dainties and the finest clothes excite only disgust.

Upon the employment of cold water, which, in spite of the efforts of Hahn (died 1773), was greatly neglected, and for the systematic employment of which there was no enthusiasm, Hahnemann writes at length (pages 108 to 126), and gives exact instructions.

If there is such a thing as a universal remedy, it is undoubtedly water. [The temperature, duration, and time of day of its employment are given in detail.] I can never cease to marvel how our most eminent physicians, when prescribing a strengthening treatment, have been so remiss in laying down precise directions for the use of the cold bath. They content themselves with telling the patient to take a half or a whole bath in the morning and sometimes also in the afternoon. No word respecting the degree of temperature of the water, the exact duration of the bath, and the other particulars concerning it so necessary for the patient to know. We cease to wonder that injury to the health is often caused by cold baths, when we consider how very improperly the cold water may often be used when the physician gives such meagre, maimed and laconic directions respecting its use.

If a weak, delicate patient remain for hours in snow-water, in order to comply heroically with the loose directions of his eminent physician, it is probable that he will be taken out of it in a fainting state, doubled up with convulsions, struck down by apoplexy, or chilled into a low fever, or perhaps stiff and stark dead. Can we find fault with the useful knife with which the infant wounded itself; should we not rather blame the negligence of its nurse? In our directions for the use of powerful remedies we cannot be too precise and explicit:

patients are only too apt to err on the side of doing less rather than more than we prescribe.

This want of precision on the part of physicians is the cause of the great prejudice against cold water; we meet great numbers of people who regard the cold bath as the most pernicious weapon in the medical armamentarium, who dread it more than death. But the rank and file of medical practitioners who slavishly imitate their betters have brought the cold bath into disrepute by their senseless ways of carrying out the careless prescriptions of our Hippocrateses.

He then proceeds to tell us what unintelligible instructions were usually given by physicians. Hahnemann writes exact directions concerning the conditions of the bath and the frictions, &c., in and after it.

When Hahnemann was once convinced of a thing, he enunciated it with the greatest precision, and did not easily allow himself to be turned from it. "I am," he says at the end of this chapter, "borne out by the most extensive experience, and I claim unlimited confidence on this point."

His medical treatment of ulcers was as follows:—Internally he gave in suitable cases decoctions of woods, therefore compound medicines (p. 86), but he also gave the medicines singly, though in large doses. He completely banished the customary lead plaster and ointment. As the local application he used alcohol (p. 44), solution of corrosive sublimate (p. 40, 44, 153, 171), lunar caustic (p. 148), solution of arsenic—the latter in the proportion of 1 to 30,000* (p. 149, 181), and balsam of Peru† (p. 149), each remedy singly and in accurately indicated cases.

Where necessary, he recommends energetic treatment. At page 44 he relates a case of caries of the metatarsal bone of the great toe, with burrowing fistulæ and unhealthy pus. "I was called in. I enlarged the wound, dressed it a few days with digestive (a mixture of Peruvian balsam, or balsam of copaiba, with two to three parts of the yolk of eggs), I scraped the carious bone clean out, and removed all the dead part, dressed it with alcohol, and watched the result." Later he applied alternately dressings of corrosive

* Comp. *Kennzeichen der Gute, &c.*, p 223.

† This he repeatedly recommends, 1791. Trans. of Monro, II., p. 123.

sublime and digestive. Internally he gave tonics, and the patient gradually began to mend. The scraping out of the carious bone is looked upon now-a-days as an achievement of modern surgery. Thus Hahnemann, in his treatment of wounds and ulcers, proved himself an excellent surgeon, and was far in advance of his contemporaries. He was not wrong in saying of himself at the conclusion of his book :—

I cannot be blamed for insisting on such a generally applicable treatment of old malignant ulcers, and in preferring it with certain limitations to all others ; the most careful and extensive experience is on my side. Anyone who has had the opportunity to make so many observations in such cases as I have made, who is actuated by such a desire to do good to his fellow creatures as I feel that I am, who so thoroughly hates the prejudices and prepossessions in favour of the old over the new, who has as little respect for the authority of a great name as I have, and who as zealously endeavours to think and act for himself as I do, will, I imagine, not easily hit on another and better treatment of old ulcers, he will consequently be able to obtain the same excellent results of his efforts as I have obtained, which is the highest reward that a conscientious physician can expect, results which have hardly ever disappointed me, whereas the different treatment of others has almost always belied their expectations.

Baldinger, professor in Jena, Göttingen and Marburg, the instructor of Blumenbach, the younger Meckel, Reil, &c., thus criticises Hahnemann's book :* “The author has treated his subject very thoroughly and well. He shows how mistaken the previous and most usual treatment has been—and teaches a better. The book is written in such a thoroughly practical manner that we cannot sufficiently hope that it will be widely read.”

The work *Instructions to Surgeons concerning the Treatment of Venereal Diseases*† which appeared in 1789, received an equally favourable reception.

Baldinger writes :‡ “This work is profound and clear.” Immediately after a work on the same subject by Professor Fritze, of Berlin, is criticised : “This book, like the other one, also contains much that is good. Both authors have

* *Medic. Journ.* von Baldinger. Göttingen, 1785, p. 23.

† Translated in Hahnemann's *Lesser Writings*, pp. 1 to 187.

‡ *Med. u. Phys. Journ.*, 1790, St. 14, p. 76.

thought for themselves, and written not only profoundly, but also comprehensively and clearly."

Kurt Sprengel writes the following criticism :*—

Hunter's ideas are the foundation of the theoretical part of a very good book by Samuel Hahnemann. He here recommends his mercurius solubilis, a mild and excellent preparation whose admirable effects have since been verified. The first important writer, who highly commended this remedy, was Joh. Fr. Fritze, Prof. in Berlin, in a work† which is good, though it contains little that is new, nevertheless it has been approved of in foreign countries in its translations.

Another critic writes :‡—

Our readers will see from the extracts given that this is no ordinary work, but is written with an unusual degree of knowledge, reflection and original thought. The special methods of treatment recommended and the maxims laid down deserve trial and attention.

In the *Medic. chir. Zeitung*,§ we read :—

The book is, however, not merely the work of a man of intelligence and learning, but is written with an aphoristic brevity to which the learned medical reader will only find a parallel in Hunter, Swediaur, André, &c. It is a book that will be of great use for academical lectures, though the author did not design it for that purpose, &c.

Soon after A. R. Vetter's book on syphilis appeared : *A New Method of Treatment of all Venereal Diseases after Hunter, Girtanner and Hahnemann.*||

The *Medic. chir. Zeitung*¶ writes concerning his translation of Cullen's *Materia Medica* :—

Herr Hahnemann has made this translation most carefully, in spite of the obscurity of the original.....The comments of the translator are generally very learned, and he has also enhanced the value of this important work by his numerous corrections of the author's errors.

The way in which mental diseases were formerly treated

* *Geschichte der Arzneikunde.* Halle, 1828, V., Part 2, p. 591.

† *Handb. über die vener. Krankh.* Berlin, 1790.

‡ *Neue Litterar. Nachrichten f. Aerzte, &c.* Halle, 1789, p. 785.

§ Edited by Prof. Hartenkeil. Salzburg, 1790, III., p. 345.

|| Vienna, 1793.

¶ 1791, I., pp. 117 and 231.

(one need not go so far back as Hahnemann's time) is known to every physician. Physicians treated excitable and refractory maniacal patients like wild animals ; it was thought necessary to cow and terrify them. Corporal chastisement and nauseating medicines were ordinary means used. Furious maniacs were strapped down on a horizontal board which could be quickly turned on an axis to a vertical position, or put in the so-called rotating chair. "A well fitted up madhouse was, in certain respects, not unlike a torture-chamber," says Westphal.* This method of treatment was adopted by Ernest Horn in 1806 in the insane department of the Berlin Charité, then the largest madhouse in Prussia. He also invented the "closed sack," in which maniacs were tied up, and which compelled them, according to Westphal, to remain lying wherever they were placed. "It is shameful to have to confess," says Westphal in 1880, "what a short time has elapsed since the insane were shown to the Sunday visitors of hospitals and work-houses as a kind of sport, and teased in order to amuse the visitors."

As the treatment of the insane depends upon the state of culture, we shall here quote as an illustration of the degree of refinement of the physicians of that day, some remarks from the *Medizinische Bibliothek* of the celebrated Göttingen professor, J. Fr. Blumenbach. He is speaking of a work on medical jurisprudence of repute in which it is stated that in Baden a parricide could not be brought to confess because torture had been abolished.

The critic thereupon remarks† (in the year 1789) :—

The most innocuous and at the same time the most efficacious mode of torture which can be retained without hesitation is, in our opinion, to apply only such a degree of torture to the accused as will set up a slight traumatic fever, and, after this has been set up, to threaten him with it again. The depression of mind, the loss of self-control, produced by the traumatic fever, will bring even the most hardened ruffian to confess. We have more than once found in dealings with criminals, that men who are able to support a severe first application of torture, if they are again tortured after a few days

* *Psychiatrie und psychiatrischer Unterricht.* Berlin, 1880.

† Vol. III., St. 2, p. 282.

when suffering from traumatic fever, become quite faint-hearted and spiritless and they confess everything.

Hahnemann's principle in his treatment of insanity was this: "I never allow an insane person to be punished either by blows or any other kind of corporal chastisement, because there is no punishment where there is no responsibility, and because these sufferers deserve only pity and are always rendered worse by such rough treatment and never improved."* He treated and cured in this way in 1792, the Chancellery Secretary Klockenbring of Hanover, a man well known to literature, who had become deranged. After his complete cure from madness this sufferer showed his deliverer, "often with tears in his eyes, the marks of the blows and stripes his former keepers had employed to keep him in order."

Hahnemann, therefore, was a long way ahead of his contemporaries in the treatment of the insane. That he at first employed bleeding is natural enough, but we always see him apply it cautiously, and even as early as 1784 he contended, as has been shown, against excessive bleeding. In 1832, Hahnemann writes, in a letter to M. Müller,† that he had given up bleeding, emetics and purging more than thirty years ago. He still bled in 1797, as appears from a paper in Hufeland's *Journal*,‡ and in 1800 he was not an absolute opponent of it. "In acute sthenic maladies, bleeding and the removal of all kinds of irritants do more good than watery drinks."§

Some indications of the treatment resorted to in typhus or nervous fever in those days have already been given. Let us hear one of the greatest physicians of the time, J. P. Frank, on the subject, in his work *De Curandis Hominum Morbis*, which was completed in 1821:|| "We should be cautious about blood-letting, but 'an inflammatory nervous fever'

* *Deutsche Monatschrift*, February, 1796. *Lesser Writings*, p. 293, note.

† M. Müller, *Zur Geschichte der Homöopathie*. Leipzig, 1837, p. 31.

‡ *Lesser Writings*, p. 373.

|| § *Arzneischatz*, aus dem Engl. übers. von Hahnemann. Leipzig, 1800, p. 171.

|| Translated in 1832 by Söbernheim, with commendatory preface by Hufeland.

is a very different matter." "When by venesection we have once succeeded in reducing the complaint to a simple nervous fever." "In gastric nervous fever we must give emetics, because otherwise obstinate diarrhoea is apt to set in towards the end of the illness."....."Indeed, sometimes an emetic given even at a later stage is of service." Then comes a chapter on "the treatment of symptoms." For each single symptom there is a different remedy. For diarrhoea : "China, canella, red wine, calumba, contrayerva, catechu, alum, fresh milk, theriac (a brew containing 40 to 60 drugs and 0.25 parts of opium to every 30 parts of fluid), and diascordium, introduced by the mouth or the anus." "For violent abdominal pains following true inflammation, general or local bleeding," besides blisters, baths, "fomentations, anodynes and repeated enemata." In "putrefying crudities" in the bowels: tamarinds, rhubarb and cinchona. In "spastic" affections of the brain : wine and opium; but for congestive cerebral affections : "leeches and cupping in the region of the temples and occiput or behind the ears." "In profuse, purely symptomatic haemorrhages: cinchona and alum, externally and internally, mineral acids with cold water, fomentations of snow or ice, and also sometimes wine and opium." Imagine a medical man sitting with the book of this great authority before him, a book which was translated in 1832 with a commendatory preface by Hufeland, as though it were something very excellent. What prescriptions would result from such instruction ?

Concerning Hahnemann's treatment of typhoid fever we learn the following in the year 1790—that is thirty or forty years earlier :* "In nervous fever (the symptoms of which Hahnemann describes minutely), antiphlogistic remedies—refrigerating and laxative salts, watery drinks, and bleeding act as poisons. Emetics and blisters do harm. Bark and strong wine in large quantities, I have seldom found to fail if I have been called in early enough."

Besides repose of body and mind, he orders more especially fresh air. At page 126, he repeats that in nervous

* Translation of Cullen, II., pp. 125, 267.

fever cinchona and wine are "the only good remedies," and on page 267 he again speaks of the benefit of bark in large doses with wine, and against the highly commended and usually employed opium.

Brown and his treatment, which reminds one of Hahnemann's, were at that time not known in Germany. Hufeland* is of opinion that in 1792 "neither he nor anyone else in Germany had seen any of Brown's writings."

With regard to the itch, Hahnemann took a very "advanced" view, which he, however, completely changed thirty years later. With the exception of some hints by older authors, Bonomo, of Leghorn, was the first who correctly described the itch-insect in 1683, on which account Wichmann† justly styles him the founder of the itch theory. Bonomo admits that he received his knowledge from poor women and slaves in Leghorn, who were in the habit of mutually removing each other's itch-insects with needles. The parasitic doctrine was, nevertheless, little regarded till Linnæus, in 1757 (*Exanthemata viva*), and the above-mentioned Wichmann, in 1786, drew attention to it. Wichmann, in his work, held the views of to-day. In England itch was already generally treated as a "living eruption;" in France the medical faculty still warned people against the external remedies there used by the common people for this malady.‡ It was much the same in Germany. Wichmann was disregarded, and the view prevailed that the itch-insect was the result and not the cause of the affection. Thus Joh. Jak. Bernhard§ did not consider the itch-insect and "the microscopic animalcules in other contagious diseases" the contagium itself. He, however, considered them as important constituents of the infecting material, "like the

* Hufeland's *Journ. V., Intelligenzblatt*, No. 1, p. 1.

† *Aetiologie der Krätze*, von J. E. Wichmann, Kgl. Grossbritt. Hofmedicus zu Hannover. Hannover, 1786, with four plates of the itch acarus copied from Bonomo, 2nd edition, 1791.

‡ Wichmann, *l.c.*, p. 118.

§ *Handbuch der allgem. und besond. Contagienlehre*. Erfurt bei Henning, 1815, also under the title *Ueber die Natur &c. des Spital-typhus und der ansteckenden Krankheiten überhaupt*.

animalcules in semen and vaccine-lymph." Also, similar animalcules might be produced without being capable of conveying contagion, as, for example, the louse disease [phthiriasis].

Friedrich Jahn, 1817, vehemently disputed the truth of the parasitic theory of the itch.* He asserts on the contrary the "undeniable truth of itch-metastases," and he finally pronounces: "We may, therefore, consider the whole of this theory as unfounded."

J. P. Frank entered the lists as a most determined advocate of the *causa viva* in his book, *De Curandis Hominum Morbis*, completed in 1821. He recommended killing the itch-insect at the commencement of the infection, but after the itch had existed some time he thought "reckless suppression" very dangerous. He distinguishes 13 kinds of "symptomatic itch," as, for instance, a scorbutic, a hypochondriacal, a critical, a plethoric, &c.; also a "psora neogamorum," a variety which affected newly married persons.

Ferdinand Jahn, a talented disciple of Heusinger and Schönlein, a partisan of the natural historical school, held the following views in 1828 :† "Chronic eruptions are usually the outward manifestations of dyscrasias which are deeply rooted in the interior of the organism.....Itch deprived of its cutaneous blossoms develops its roots that are present in the interior of the organism more strongly, so that those manifestations which are known under the name of itch-metastases ensue." In judging such views, we must remember that in those days itch eruptions with numerous pustules all over the body and extensive cutaneous ulcerations were no rarity.

Autenrieth, known to be a pupil of J. P. Frank, writes under the title, *Sequelæ which follow the suppression of Itch*, in 1808 :‡

* *Klinik der chron. Krankheiten.* Erfurt, 1817, II., p. 614.

† *Ahnungen einer allgem. Naturgeschichte der Krankheiten.* Eisenach, 1828, p. 201.

‡ *Versuche für die prakt. Heilkunde aus den klin. Annalen von Tübingen,* 1808. Griesselich, *Kleine Frescogemälde.* Carlsruhe, 1836, I., p. 88.

The most terrible and the most frequent sources of chronic diseases of adults in our neighbourhood are the psoric or itch eruptions which have been wrongly treated with sulphur ointment and fatty outward applications. I have so frequently seen the evil results among the lower classes and those who lead a sedentary life that arise from the suppression of the itch, and see them still every day in such a variety of sad forms, that I do not hesitate a moment to assert that it is a subject that deserves the attention of every physician, and of even every employer of labour who has the welfare of those under him at heart.

According to Autenrieth, the sequelæ of "suppressed itch" are : ulcers of the leg, pulmonary consumption, a kind of hysterical chlorosis, white swelling of the knee, effusion into the joints, amaurosis with obscuration of the cornea, glaucoma with amaurosis, mental alienation, paralysis, apoplexy, wry neck, &c.

In spite of all this, Autenrieth held the parasitic theory to an extent which was uncommon for his time. He even maintained that the itch-insect was the vehicle of a poison which must not be driven by ointments from the surface of the body into the interior, and that, on the other hand, the itch might be the product of an internal disease driven outwards on to the skin.

Hufeland shows that he held this view :*

But the itch may also appear as a product and symptom of internal diseases—scabies spuria. Here, indeed, it is only a form of another disease, but here also a contagium may develop, and so it may become infectious. To this variety belongs the syphilitic, scrofulous, arthritic, and scorbutic itch, and also the critical, an itch-like eruption by which the critical resolution of both acute and chronic maladies is effected..... The mites found in pustules are not the cause but the effect—parasites of the itch..... But in connexion with this (that is to say the treatment) many difficulties and important considerations come into play. Thus we can suppress the diseased action of the skin by a mere local application of the specific, but the contagium itself, which has already penetrated deeper, is not thereby destroyed, and the result is either that the itch always re-appears or, what is worse, is thrown on internal parts, and often produces very dangerous and obstinate metastases. Consumption, lung-itch, dropsy, cramps of the stomach, stomach-itch, epilepsy, and all kinds of nervous diseases may ensue. The result is still more serious if the itch is complicated with another disease or is a product or crisis of another disease.

* *Enchiridion Medicum, Vermächtniss einer 50 jähr. Praxis.* St. Gallen, 1839, 2nd edit., p. 293, *et seq.*

In 1835 the learned Rau* wrote as follows:—

The assertion a well-known writer (Krüger Hansen?) has recently made, that no evil results are to be feared from quickly suppressing the itch, is confuted by such numerous observations that it is unnecessary to argue against it.

We must at the same time bear in mind that in those days the diagnosis of skin diseases was very faulty, that scabies, eczema, impetigo, prurigo, &c., were not yet distinguished from one another, and were thought various degrees of intensity of the same disease.

Did Hahnemann know the existence of the itch-insect? and at what period did he become acquainted with it? In his translation of Monro's *Materia Medica*, 1791, Hahnemann says in a foot-note (II. 49):—

If, in a recent case of itch, we make the patient wash himself several times daily with a saturated solution of sulphuretted hydrogen, and get his linen dipped in the same solution, the affection disappears in a few days, and does not return except with re-infection. But would not it return if it was caused by acidity of the humours? I have often observed this, and agree with those who attribute the disease to a living cause. All insects [among which the itch-mite was at that time included] and worms are killed by sulphuretted hydrogen.

Further on in the same work, in another note (II. 441), he maintains that itch is a "living eruption."

In 1795 a treatise by Hahnemann, *On Crusta Lactea*, appeared in J. N. Blumenbach's *Medicinische Bibliothek*.† This periodical did not appear in any regular order. Articles which had been written as early as 1793 are found in this volume. Hahnemann has put no date to his essay, so that we cannot exactly determine the date at which it was written. He, however, remarks in it that he was in the country when it was written. From 1794 to 1796 he lived at Pyrmont and Brunswick; from 1792 to 1794 in Gotha. To the last-named period, therefore, belong the following remarks. In the village (probably Molschleben),

* *Ueber den Werth des hom. Heilverfahrens*, 2nd edit. Heidelberg and Leipzig, p. 33.

† III. St. 4, Göttingen, 1795. Translated in *B. Jour. of Hom.*, XLII., p. 209.

"where my children enjoyed perfect health," there were a great many children affected with so-called milk-crust, and to an unusual degree. As Hahnemann thought he had seen instances of this complaint being communicated, he attempted to prevent intercourse between his own and the infected children belonging to the village. One of the boys thus affected, however, succeeded in gaining access to them. "I saw him playing in close contact with them, I sent him away, but the infection had already taken place." The boy had kissed Hahnemann's children. The complaint began first in the child kissed, and then spread to the other three children.

"I poured warm water over dry *hepar sulphuris* (powdered oyster shells mixed with equal parts of sulphur and kept for ten minutes at a white heat), and thus made a weak solution. I painted the faces of the two who had the eruption worst with this every hour for two consecutive days. After the first application the complaint was arrested and gradually got well." He pursued the same course with the other children with the same success.

The remedy when applied to the skin becomes gradually decomposed by the action of the air, and sulphuretted hydrogen is developed with a foetid smell, which, as we know, is rapidly fatal to most insects.

Is not *crusta lactea* a cutaneous disease caused solely by infection? does not the infecting matter contain very small animalcules as a miasm? I hardly expect to meet in practice with such another opportunity of answering these questions positively in the affirmative as this, which was so completely within my cognisance. My children got no purgatives nor any other medicine, as they were otherwise quite well and well they remained.

In a note he says :—

I relate here the following case because of its similarity. A servant girl (infected by a servant newly arrived), had had the itch for six days; one arm and hand were covered with it, and the eruption made its appearance on the other hand between the fingers. I made her wash both arms thrice daily for two days with the above-mentioned solution; she got well without sequelæ; the girl who communicated it was treated in the same manner, and was cured in eight days. If this complaint is produced by insects in the skin, what harm can it do to kill them provided we do so with medicines that possess no power

in themselves to do harm to the body? Physicians have been all too ready to ascribe to the suppression of certain skin diseases effects which were the result of some cachexia, &c., which was coexistent, and which remained uncured!

From what follows it appears that he was not free from the opinion that a virus penetrates the whole organism from the itch-insect. "An old case of bone-disease began to heal quickly as soon as I had ascertained that it was complicated with itch. I dressed the sore as usual, but washed the whole body with the above-mentioned lotion."

In 1791, he narrates (Monro I. 76) that he had cured itch by internal remedies only, which shows that in those days the term "itch" had a much wider signification than now.

He treats the subject of the therapeutic employment of electricity, clearly and intelligently, and he could not conceive how the Academy of Rouen could adjudge a prize to a work of Marat which denied to electricity almost all remedial power (*Arsenikvergiftung*, p. 163).

He taught the proper use of many drugs whose actions were little or imperfectly known, and described accurately their sphere of action, which he was better able to ascertain than others, because he always gave only one remedy at a time, and carefully watched its effects. We shall here only mention aconite, belladonna, hyoscyamus, stramonium, conium maculatum, ipecacuanha, Peruvian balsam and arsenic. His numerous articles in Hufeland's *Journal*, his terse and frequent annotations in his translations of Cullen, Monro, the Edinburgh *Dispensatory* and the *Thesaurus medicaminum*, as well as casual observations in the *Apothekerlexicon*, prove what we have said.

With regard to Hahnemann's reputation as a practical physician of his day, let us hear his contemporaries. Brunnow relates: * "In fact, even in the beginning of his career as a physician, he succeeded in achieving many splendid cures by his simple method of treatment, and wherever he went he carried with him the reputation of a

* *Ein Blick auf Hahnemann*, Leipzig, 1844, p. 6. Translated by Norton.

careful and successful practitioner." The *Medic. chir. Zeitung* (1799, II. 411) writes: "Hahnemann has made himself a name in Germany as a capable physician."

In the same periodical* he is described as a physician "to whom we are indebted for many good contributions to the perfection of our science." In the *Allg. med. Annalen des 19 Jahrh.* in the number for November, 1810, Hahnemann is called a man, "who has been known as a thinking physician and good observer for more than twenty years, and at the same time has continually increased his reputation as a clever and successful practitioner."

Hufeland, in 1798,† calls him a man "whose services to our art are sufficiently important," and further‡ "one of the most distinguished physicians of Germany"....."a physician of matured experience and reflection."

In 1800 Daniels§ speaks of "Hahnemann, a man rendered famous by his writings."

In the same year Bernstein writes in the *Pract. Handbuch für Wundärzte*: "Samuel Hahnemann, a very meritorious physician, is known for his excellent preparation of mercury, namely, mercurius solubilis, and also for his wine test and his chemical and pharmaceutical writings. He has also deserved the gratitude of surgeons. He published for them *Guide to the cure of old sores and ulcers*, 1784, and *Instruction to Surgeons for the treatment of venereal diseases*. Leipzig, 1786."

In the year 1791, the Leipzig Economic Society elected him a member, he was next elected a member of the Electoral Academy of Sciences of Mainz, and later of the Physical and Medical Society of Erlangen.

In 1798 we read this notice in the *Medic. chir. Zeitung* (IV. 192). "Mietau: it is intended to erect a temporary university here. It is said that it is intended that the medical faculty shall consist of Dr. Samuel Hahnemann of

* *Ergänzungsheft*, VII., p. 307.

† *Huf. Jour.*, VI., St. 2. Note.

‡ *Ib. V.*, St. 2, p. 52.

§ *Ib. IX.*, St. 4, p. 153.

Königslutter, Dr. Samuel Naumberg of Erfurt, and Dr. Frank of Mühlhausen."

Let us now pass from Hahnemann's capacity and acquirements in medicine to his achievements in the way of *medical reform*.

He was not fashioned out of soft wood, hence his words often seem hard and harsh, and even bitter. We shall see how, with penetrating glance and great store of knowledge, he saw more and more clearly the utter worthlessness of the therapeutics of the day, and the disastrous methods of procedure of physicians. Amidst the confusion of hypotheses and speculations, a weak voice would not have been listened to. He had a strong, sturdy and healthy body and a lively temperament. Such natures do not creep about in felt slippers when they have to combat the widely spread follies of their time; the question whether Hahnemann would have been more prudent if he had written in a more conciliatory tone, does not concern us here.

As early as 1784, as we have seen, he speaks contemptuously of "fashionable physicians." In 1786 he inveighs in his book on *Arsenic* against the wretched state of medicine at that time, against "that most fruitful cause of death, the bungling of physicians," who, among other things, powdered ulcers over with arsenic, thus often causing the death of the patients, and who gave this drug in poisonous doses in intermittent fever. In 1791, in his translation of Monro, he came across the statement that cantharides eliminated morbid humours; Hahnemann thereupon remarks (II. 248), "this is the common delusion that the sores produced by vesicating agents only remove the morbid fluids. When we consider that the mass of the blood during its circulation is of uniform composition throughout, that the exhalents of the blood-vessels give off no great variety of matter under otherwise identical conditions; no rational physiologist will be able to conceive how a vesicating agent can select, collect and remove only the injurious part of the humours. In fact the blister under

the plaster is only filled with a part of the common blood serum, just like that which separates from the blood when it is drawn from a vein. But, according to the insane idea of these short-sighted doctors, venesection, too, draws off the bad blood only, and continued purging evacuates only the depraved humours! It is terrible to contemplate the mischief which such universally-held foolish ideas have caused."

In another place (Monro, I. 265) Monro speaks of corrosive sublimate as an "alterative." Hahnemann thereupon remarks:—"I do not know what our author means thereby, though he uses the language of his and my contemporaries. If an alterative is something which does good here, why does he not say so? But no, an alterative seems to be only a half-and-half sort of remedy. Such a remedy is not required in the whole range of medicine." Further (I. 246). "Alterative is a scholastic term; it is unpardonable in a medical author to use such a vague expression." In the same way, Hahnemann in many places takes occasion to direct the attention of his fellow-practitioners to the many absurdities of the day, from which he used the most earnest efforts gradually to emancipate himself. In 1790, he attacked the teachers of *materia medica* of the day (Cullen, I. 58). "The old teachers of *materia medica* with their puerilities, vagaries, old wives' tales and falsities, are venerated as authorities, even in the most recent times—with a few exceptions—and neither the originators nor their weak disciples deserve to be spared. We must forcibly sever ourselves from these deified oracles if we wish to shake off the yoke of ignorance and credulity in the most important department of practical medicine. It is high time to do so."

To ascertain the truth in the wilderness of "observations" and "experiences," he soon hit upon the plan which all great physicians have followed; he ceased from the fussy interference practised at the sick-bed by his contemporaries, and urged his mixture-loving fellow practitioners to adopt instead:—

Simple Prescriptions.

Worthily to appreciate this, we must remember that in those days it was taught that a properly constructed prescription should consist of several parts. Hahnemann was of course taught this, and later he admits that the method of treatment by mixtures "clung to him more obstinately than the miasma of any disease." If then we see him in the first few years of his practice, sometimes giving mixtures, generally containing only two drugs, we see on the other hand, that he was gradually emancipating himself from this bad system. As early as 1784,* he advocates a simple method of treatment "instead of the farrago of contradictory prescriptions." In 1791, he asks, when Munro has been recommending a complicated mode of treatment for sclerosis of the liver (Munro, II. 288): "What was it that really did good?.....As long as we do not accustom ourselves to use simple remedies throughout and carefully to consider in each case the accompanying circumstances, habits of life, &c., our therapeutics will remain a combination of guess-work, truth and poetry."

In the year 1796, Hahnemann writes in Hufeland's *Journal*:†

The strangest circumstance connected with this specification of the virtues of single drugs is, that in the days of these men the habit that still prevails in medicine, of mixing together several different medicines in one prescription, was carried to such an extent that I defy Oedipus himself to tell what was the exact action of a single ingredient of the hotch-potch. The prescription of a single remedy at a time was in those days almost rarer than it is now-a-days. How was it possible in such a complicated practice to differentiate the powers of individual medicines?

Hahnemann, in his treatise *Are the obstacles to certainty and simplicity in practical medicine insurmountable?* which appeared in the year 1797,‡ pronounces "simplicity the first law of the physician," and further on :

* *Anleitung alte Schäden, &c.*, p. 165. *B. J. of H.* XLII., p. 165.

† *Versuch über ein neues Prinzip, &c.*, II., St. 3. Hahnemann's *Lesser Writings*, p. 310, note.

‡ Hufeland's *Journal* IV., St. 4. *Lesser Writings*, p. 358.

How near was this great man (Hippocrates) to the philosopher's stone of physicians—simplicity ! and to think that after more than 2,000 years we should not have advanced one single step nearer the mark, on the contrary, have rather receded from it !

Did he only write books ? or did he write much less than he actually cured ? Did he do this as circuitously as we ?

It was owing to the simplicity of his treatment of diseases alone, that he saw all that he did see, and whereat we marvel.....Here the question arises : Is it well to mix various drugs in a single prescription, to administer baths, clysters, bleeding, blistering, fomentations and inunctions all at once or in rapid succession, if we wish to raise therapeutics to perfection, effect cures, and know with certainty in every case what the remedy has done in order to be able to employ it in similar cases with still greater, or at least with equal success ?

The mind can only grasp one thing at a time and can rarely assign to each of two powers acting at the same time on one object its due proportion of influence in bringing about the result ; how can we attain to greater certainty in therapeutics if we deliberately set a large number of different forces to act against a morbid condition of the system, while we are often ill-acquainted with the nature of the latter, and are but indifferently conversant with the separate action of the component parts of the former, much less with their combined action ?

Who knows whether the adjuvans or the corrigens may not act as basis in the complex prescription, or whether the excipiens does not give an entirely different action to the whole ? Does the chief ingredient if it be the right one require an adjuvans ? Does not the idea that it requires assistance reflect severely on its suitability ? or should a dirigens also be necessary ? I thought I would complete the motley list, and thereby satisfy the requirements of the schools.

I think I may venture to assert that a mixture of two drugs almost never produces the effects of each in the human body, but an effect almost always different from the action of both separately—an intermediate action, a neutralisation, if I may borrow an expression from chemistry.

The more complex our prescriptions are, the darker is the condition of therapeutics.

That our prescriptions contain fewer ingredients than those of the Portuguese Amatus will help us just as little as the fact that Andromachus wrote still bulkier prescriptions will help him. Are our prescriptions simple because both these wrote more complicated ones ?

How can we complain of the obscurity and intricacy of our art, when we ourselves render it obscure and intricate ? I, too, at one time suffered from this infirmity ; the schools had infected me. This miasma, clung to me before it came to a crisis, more obstinately than the miasma of any other mental malady.

Are we in earnest in our art? Very well then! What would be more like *Columbus's egg* than to make a brotherly compact to give only one simple remedy at a time in every single malady, without making any important change in the surroundings of the patient, and then let us see with our own eyes what the drug does, how far it helps and how far it does not help?

Would it really be more learned to prescribe from the apothecary's shop numerous and variously mixed medicines for one disease (often in one day), than, like Hippocrates, to treat the whole course of a disease with one or two enemata, and perhaps a little oxymel and nothing else? I thought it was the masterpiece of art to give the right medicine, not the most complex.

Hippocrates chose the simplest out of a class of diseases; these he watched closely and described minutely. In these simplest maladies he gave single simple remedies out of the store of existing drugs which was then small. Thus it was possible for him to see what he saw and to do what he did.

It will I hope not be contrary to good taste, to proceed as simply in the treatment of diseases as this great man did.

If any one sees me give one remedy one day, another the next and so on, he may conclude that I am wavering in my treatment (for I too am a weak mortal); but if he sees me mix two or three drugs in the same prescription (and ere now this has sometimes been done), he would at once say: "The man is at a loss, he does not rightly know what he would be at, he is bungling; if he were certain that one was the right remedy he would not give a second, and still less a third!"

What could I answer? I could only hold my tongue. If I were asked what is the mode of action of bark in all known diseases? I would confess that I know little about it, though I have so often given it alone and uncombined. But if I were asked what cinchona would do if administered along with saltpetre, or still more with a third substance, I should have to confess my benighted ignorance and would worship any one who could tell me. Dare I confess that for many years I have never given anything but a single remedy at a time, and have never repeated it till the first dose had exhausted its action, bleeding alone, an emetic or purgative alone—and always a simple never a complex medicine—and never a second till I was quite clear as to the effect of the first? Dare I confess that in this manner I have been very successful and satisfactorily cured my patients, and seen things which otherwise I never would have seen?

If I did not know that there are around me several of the best men who in simple earnestness are striving after the noblest of aims, who by a similar method of treatment have corroborated my maxims, I should indeed not have dared to avow this heresy. Who knows that I should not in Galileo's circumstances have denied that the earth went round the sun. But the day is beginning to dawn!

In the year 1798, in his translation of the Edinburgh *Dispensatory*, he inveighs against "the physicians who love prescriptions containing many ingredients" (II. 340). "What god could decide what good effects would result from the admixture of three strong things very unlike in their actions (castor oil and preparations of lead and mercury externally applied in cancer).....The height of empiricism is the employment of mixtures of strong medicines" (II. 605). Further on (p. 606), where compounds are again recommended, he observes : "We cannot *a priori* say what are the powers of a compound remedy. Every drug has its peculiar action. Which way would several balls of different sizes, thrown in different directions and with different degrees of force and striking together, go ? Who could tell beforehand ? "

The less successful he was in converting his contemporaries to the employment of simple medical treatment, the more loudly he raised his voice. In 1800, he translated *Thesaurus Medicaminum, a new collection of medical prescriptions*, from the English. The translation was published anonymously, the notes being signed "Y." He wished to prove by his criticisms how the complicated formulas acted in a manner directly opposed to the attainment of the cure desired and of instruction. In the preface* we find the following emphatic words:—

Even the best formulas (I should like to convince my countrymen of it) are unsatisfactory and unnatural and act conflictingly and contrary to the object intended ; a truth, which in our time when formulas are so much in vogue, we should preach from the housetops. When shall I see this folly extirpated ? When will it be recognised that the cure of diseases is better effected by simpler but properly selected remedies ? Must we always have to endure the ridicule of Arcesilases ? Shall we never cease to mix a number of drugs in the same prescriptions, the effect of each of which is only half known or not known at all by even the greatest physicians ? Though Jones, of London, used 300 pounds of bark every year, what do we know of the actual, individual action of this drug ? Little ! What do we know of the pure and specific action of that powerful drug Mercury, the immense use of which by physicians would seem to imply an accurate knowledge of its effects on

* Translated in *Lesser Writings*, p. 398.

our body?.....If so great an obscurity reigns with regard to these single drugs, how useless must be the phenomena which appear after the indiscriminate administration of several such unknown drugs together. It seems to me like throwing together a number of various shaped balls with one's eyes shut on to a billiard table of unknown form and many cushions, and attempting to prophesy what effect they will have together, what position each ball will take, and where it will eventually come to a standstill after repeated rebounds and unforseen collisions!

Further, he describes sarcastically the statements which the prescription writers of the day made as to the effects of their basis, their adjuvans, their constituens, dirigens and corrigens. Unfortunately it is not possible to quote all the characteristic passages of Hahnemann's writings. Further on he says: "Nature works according to eternal laws, without asking anyone's permission; she loves simplicity, and effects a great deal with one remedy; you effect little with many remedies. Imitate nature! To prescribe many drugs mixed, and sometimes even several prescriptions daily, is the height of empiricism; to give single remedies and not to change them till the time of their action has expired, this is to take the straight road towards the inner holy place of art."

In the 412 pages of this work he proves by numerous examples how irrational it is to mix drugs. Here are a few examples:—

PAGE 33:—If the remedy already consists of five ingredients, each of considerable strength, why should not the whole *materia medica* be included? That would be better still. O, how little is the true action of each one of these ingredients known! What action do we expect from them when they act simultaneously on the body? How shall we attain the knowledge of simple drugs when we only give them mixed? It seems to me that we are ashamed to know accurately the action of each drug, and that we mix several up together in order, in the resulting confusion, to keep before our eyes the fog we love so dearly.

PAGE 39:—A qualified doctor is, of course, at liberty to give anything he likes, Nature must submit out of respect for his diploma.

PAGE 66:—Is it not wise to mix a substance like aloes which only acts after twelve or sixteen hours, and then only produces a small, soft stool (given in large doses as a purgative, it produces few stools but causes a great deal of griping) with another substance, such for instance as colocynth which acts in a couple of hours! It is quite unknown what time scammony takes to purge, and what are the pecu-

liarities of its action. But all the better ! the more unknown the drugs are, the more scientific is the mixture !

PAGE 74 :—A formula suffering from an unwholesome mixture of ingredients ! Heating, cooling, purging and other remedies all mixed together. Now we shall know the effects of oxymel of colchicum which we have not been able to ascertain from its use by itself since the days of Dioscorides ! Alas !

PAGE 81 :—In true dysentery we should avoid such things (senna boiled with rhubarb and tamarinds), and in other cases we can easily find less disgusting compounds, if the evil spirit of mixing will no leave us in peace.

PAGE 86 :—I have observed in all these secundem artem formulæ that the authors jealously omit to explain why they mix rhubarb with saffron, gentian, serpentary and aloes, why senna leaves with jalap root ? Did they know that each of all these things had a different effect ? Did they think that their combination would produce an intermediate action when we only imperfectly know the effects of each singly, and still less in combination ? Or did all their wisdom eventuate in the itch for compounding, which is an epidemic disease among our physicians ? But sometimes I almost think that higher considerations have influenced them in making these mixtures, for they mix rhubarb and aloes with liquorice. A splendid idea ! they will thus be sweetened, and the bitter taste taken away. *Difficile est satyram non scribere.*

PAGE 91 :—We cannot believe the formula writers when they say, for instance, that the more numerous the diuretics in a mixture the more efficacious is it for the elimination of urine ! The fools ! Usually it is just the opposite, one often hinders the other. Why do they, then, mix so many ingredients ? Because they look upon treatment like investing in a lottery. If I place my money on enough numbers, thinks the weak-minded gambler, I must win ! Too dear a way, my friend, of attaining your object. If you were right, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, with his fifty ingredients in one prescription, must have been a matador among physicians.

PAGE 97 :—Obstructions of the liver are more easily guessed at than diagnosed, and there are kinds of jaundice which disappear of themselves in a few days. This explains how such an indigestible brew could have obtained its reputation in such diseases. Of what use was sulphate of potash if dandelion alone would have effected the object desired ? or would the first have been sufficient alone ? or must we give both ? and why both ? If it is the result of experience that both must be used in order to do good, then give us the details of your experience where there was no doubt as to the nature of the disease or the good effects of the mixture. An intelligent man must have a reason for each step of his procedure.

PAGE 100.—To the ordinary practitioner, a simple prescription is like a thorn in the eye ! Hippocrates, with his simple drugs, must

have been a bungler who should have bought a modern book on the art of prescribing.

PAGE 106 :—In these seven consecutive formulæ, we shall see squills united with eight different drugs. Was squills alone not sufficient? What assistance did it receive from its fellow-ingredients? If the added ingredients were all useful in an equal degree, why so many changes? If they were not, why are we not told which were the useful ones and which the useless and in what cases? This should be done if we are not to think that changing about is recommended merely for the sake of changing, or even cœco instinctu. But no! we find many famous physicians recommending prescriptions containing an immense number of ingredients in dropsy, with the excuse: that many substances only excite their full power if mixed together in certain proportions. Then what is the full power? Occasionally the water is removed, but in what cases? They cannot tell us this any more than they can tell us when cream of tartar, when potash, preparations of squills, colchicum, juniper, parsley and foxglove are especially indicated. If they cannot even determine the right cases in which to give simple remedies, all of which in certain cases prove useful singly and remove the water, why do they recommend mixtures and complicated mixtures which, if each simple drug is good for its special kind of disease, must have a still narrower sphere of action and must be suitable in a still more individual case of disease on account of the complicated character of the mixture, in which each ingredient has a new direction and limit.....

The physician who is intimately acquainted with drugs, knows how difficult it is to get only fifty simple drugs in equally good condition; the condition of the leaves, roots and barks is so much influenced by the habitat of the plant, the time of gathering, the maturity of growth, removal of the damaged parts, the period of drying which varies from a few hours to several weeks, the restricted or unrestricted access of air, and the warmth or dampness of the places where they are kept. What differences are produced by even the modes of preparation, the infusion in hot or cold water, strong or weak alcohol, for a few minutes or for several weeks!

He further points out the mistakes made in preparing extracts (by boiling) and the negligent mode in which they are kept in apothecaries' shops.

If we have always such difficulty in getting from them simple drugs and preparations in equally good condition—if, in one word, it is so unusual to get for our patients simple drugs of uniform quality, what madness is it to expect to have the most improbable of imaginable things, viz.:—medicines consisting of many ingredients always identical in character, many of which have undergone complicated processes (subject to defects and accidents) in their preparation!

Who will consider an uncertain, never uniform mixture of 7, 8, 10 or 15 ingredients a reliable remedy? Only one who knows nothing about the subject. If you send the prescription to ten different respectable apothecaries you will get ten preparations differing in taste, appearance and smell (to say nothing of medicinal properties!). But if you have a single remedy you can judge of its quality and increase the dose if it is weak. What will you do, if in a complicated mixture one ingredient is 100 times stronger, another 10 times weaker than you have been accustomed to, without your being able to detect it?

PAGE 112: So one contradicts another, and neither knows how far he is right and the other wrong. They do not sufficiently distinguish their cases and they seek their remedy in mixtures, thus converting even the little light they had into utter darkness. Is this the royal road to the temple of truth?

PAGE 118: This mixture can hardly be compounded without the precipitation of part of the saltpetre, but what does our hero care for chemistry in compounding his mixtures? If only grotesque enough things are heaped together so as to seem learned, only the stomach of the patient will suffer.

PAGE 142: In what kinds of intermittent fevers? and how are they distinguished from those which are cured by bark? What part was taken by the antimony, what by the potash, and what by the chamomile flowers? Behold! "The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep."

PAGE 352: I call that a *sauce au dernier gout* made out of thirteen piquant ingredients which partly neutralise each other's action. This is now (since the banishment of common sense) the highest fashion! Poor Hippocrates! with his simple remedies, how ignorant he appears in comparison. We are now in possession of the true *savoir faire*, of the highest culture. God have mercy on the poor souls driven out of their methodically treated bodies!

With similar remarks Hahnemann accompanies the author on every page through the whole book, proving thereby how earnest was his striving after truth and how great his anxiety for the improvement of therapeutics, and how far he surpassed his mixture-loving contemporaries in the gifts of observation and investigation.

A year after, in 1801, he writes in *Treatment of Scarlet Fever*, page 12: * "Here we often see the *ne plus ultra* of the grossest empiricism; for each separate symptom a particular drug in the complicated formula; a sight that cannot

fail to inspire the unprejudiced observer with feelings at once of pity and indignation!"

At the same time he attacked Brown on this question in Hufeland's *Journal*.* Brown recommended the employment of several drugs at once, never of one at a time. On this Hahnemann remarks: "This is the true sign of charlatanism. Quackery always goes hand in hand with complicated mixtures, and any one who can recommend (not merely tolerate) them is far removed from the simple ways and laws of nature."

In the following years he was never weary of urging on his mixture-loving colleagues that the "chief law for the physician" was simplicity of treatment.

In 1805 in *Medicine of Experience*† he again writes: "A single simple remedy is *always* calculated to produce the most beneficial effects, without any additional means, provided it be the best selected, the most appropriate and in the proper dose. It is *never* necessary to give two at once."....."If we wish to perceive clearly what the remedy effects in a disease and what still remains to be done, we must only give one single simple substance at a time. Every addition of a second or a third only deranges the object we have in view."

In the same year he writes in *Aesculapius in the balance*:‡

This is the general, but most unjustifiable procedure of our physicians: to prescribe *nothing by itself*—no! *always in combination with several other things* in one artistic prescription. "No prescription can properly be termed such," says Hofrath Gruner in his *Art of Prescribing*, "which does not contain several ingredients at once." You might as well put out your eyes in order to see more clearly.

In 1808 we read in *The Value of the Speculative Systems of Medicine*:§

But the case is worse still and the proceeding more reprehensible (the prescription of mixtures) when we consider that the action of each or at any rate of most of the ingredients thus huddled together *is individually great and yet unascertained*.

* Vol. II., St. 4, p. 3 and 4. *Lesser Writings*, p. 618.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 534.

‡ *Lesser Writings*, p. 488, note.

§ *Lesser Writings*, p. 567.

Now, to mix in a prescription a number of such strong disordering substances, whose separate action is often unknown and only guessed and arbitrarily assumed, and then, forthwith, at a venture, to administer this mixture, and many more besides without letting a single one do its work out on the patient, whose complaint and abnormal state of body has only been viewed through illusive theories and through the spectacles of manufactured systems—if this is medical art, if this is not hurtful irrationality, I do not know what we are to understand by an art, nor what is hurtful or irrational.....This motley mixing system is nothing but a convenient shift for one, who having but a slender acquaintance with the properties of a single substance, flatters himself, though he cannot find any one simple suitable remedy to remove the complaint, that by heaping a great many together there may be one amongst them that by a happy chance shall hit the mark.

Towards the end of the above-named essay he again breaks out : “ Further, let us reflect how extremely precarious and, I might say, blind, such a system of administering drugs must be which fights against diseases, themselves misunderstood from being viewed through glasses tinged with ideal systems, with almost unknown drugs assembled in one or several such formulæ ! ”

No physician has preached this important truth with such energy and such conviction as Hahnemann. No physician has so consistently employed simple prescriptions, and he could with truth assert in 1805 that : “ No physician on the face of the earth, neither the founders of systems nor their disciples, is accustomed to give in diseases only one single simple drug at a time and to wait till its action is exhausted before giving another.”

The *Organon* appeared in 1810, and it is scarcely necessary to mention that in it he advocates simplicity of treatment, as did also later his followers in numerous periodicals and other works.

Hahnemann's attacks on the Therapeutics of his time.

We have already shown how Hahnemann attacked deference to authority in therapeutics, as early as 1786 and 1790. He had already pronounced against bleed-

ing in nervous fever. In the same work (Cullen, II. 18) in 1790 he complains, "Bleeding, antiphlogistics, tepid baths, diluent drinks, low diet, blood purifiers and everlasting purgatives and enemata are the vicious circle in which the ordinary run of German physicians are always revolving." According to Hahnemann there are few exceptions. He even took occasion to attack his blood-thirsty colleagues in a case which attracted great attention.

Two years later the Emperor Leopold II., of Austria, died unexpectedly (early in the year 1792).* The post-mortem† revealed among other things a "semi-purulent" exudation about a pound in weight in the left pleura. In No. 78 (J.c. 31 March, 1792), Hahnemann thus criticises the treatment of the physicians: "The report states 'his physician, Lagusius, observed high fever and swelling of the abdomen early on February 28'; he combated the malady by venesection, and as this produced no amelioration, three more venesections were performed without relief. Science must ask why a second venesection was ordered when the first had produced no amelioration? How could he order a third, and good Heavens! how a fourth when there had been no amelioration after the preceding ones? How could he tap the vital fluid four times in twenty-four

* It was a time of political fermentation. Much anxiety was felt respecting France, which threatened Germany with invasion to punish the emigrés. Leopold, in the short period of his reign from 1790 as German Emperor, warded off apparently inevitable war by his prudence and love of peace. All hopes were centred in him; consequently the news of his sudden unexpected death came like a thunder-clap, and filled all hearts with apprehension. Hahnemann at that time resided in Gotha, where *Der Anzeiger*, a newspaper often used for discussions among physicians and for communications from physicians to one another, was published. It appeared afterwards under the title *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen*. Hahnemann was acquainted with the editor, Dr. Becker, to whom he had most likely communicated his views, and was probably invited by him to take this step in order to clear up matters. The sudden death had already given rise to all sorts of curious rumours.

† *Der Anzeiger*, 1792, No. 137 and 138.

hours, always without relief, from a debilitated man who had been worn out by anxiety of mind and long continued diarrhoea? Science is aghast!" Lagusius (*alias* Hasenöhrl) had called Professors Störck and Schreiber in consultation. "The clinical record of the physician in ordinary Lagusius says:—

"The monarch was on the 28th February attacked with rheumatic fever [what symptoms of a rheumatic character had he?] and a chest affection [which of the numerous chest affections, very few of which are able to stand bleeding? let us note that he does not say it was pleurisy, which he would have done to excuse the copious venesectiōns if he had been convinced that it was this affection] and we immediately tried to mitigate the violence of the malady by bleeding and other needful remedies [Germany—Europe—has a right to ask: which?] On the 29th the fever increased [after the bleeding! and yet] three more venesectiōns were effected, whereupon some [other reports say distinctly—*no*] improvement followed, but the ensuing night was very restless and weakened the monarch [just think! it was the night and not the four bleedings which so weakened the monarch, and Herr Lagusius was able to assert this positively], who on the 1st of March began to vomit with violent retching and threw up all he took [nevertheless his doctors left him, so that no one was present at his death, and indeed after this one of them pronounced him out of danger]. At 3.30 in the afternoon he expired, while vomiting, in presence of the empress."

Hahnemann challenged the physicians to justify themselves. This attack of Hahnemann's was certainly a violent one. On the other hand, if a case with such important issues depending upon it, were to occur now-a-days, how the physicians would be blamed! Hahnemann plainly saw the perniciousness of the medical treatment. Why should he not do what now-a-days many would do? Fear was unknown to him, and he was not wanting in knowledge of all branches of science. Moreover, he in this case expressed the general opinion.

Before the emperor's physicians answered Hahnemann's challenge, a discussion arose among other physicians in the same journal. The physician to the Court of Saxony, Dr. Stöller,* pronounced Hahnemann's attack improper, unfair and useless, perhaps written for the purpose of making himself known, and stated that he had been

* *L.c.*, No. 103, 30th April

convinced by optical evidence of the weakness and ailing condition of the emperor during his sojourn at Pillnitz and had said so. He exclaims: "Good Herr Hahnemann, it was just because the first and second bleeding did not do what was intended that it was repeated!" He maintains that the doctors left the patient at the command of the empress, which explains their absence at the time of his death. In conclusion, he asserts his impartiality, for he knows Herr Lagusius "by his writings under the name of Hasenöhrl," and Herr Hahnemann "also only by his excellent works, especially that on arsenical poisoning, and from what he heard of him in Dresden."

A physician who in thirty years' practice "had never had a quarrel with a colleague either at the bed-side or elsewhere," gives his opinion.* He deprecates this dispute between two physicians, "who are both to be highly honoured for their literary reputation"....."It is difficult to believe that Herr Hahnemann had the intention of making himself more famous than he already is. Herr Hahnemann is already so much respected and renowned for his valuable services that he certainly does not require to make himself more popular with the German public by getting up a quarrel with Herr Lagusius, who is himself not better known." He blames the personal character of Hahnemann's attack, but not its publicity, which only serves to further the cause of truth. "That court physicians are fallible, is sufficiently proved by those of Louis XIV., who slaughtered half his family by bleeding in influenza." He defends the venesections, but would rather have seen them limited to two. Further it was to be remarked that physicians of the older Vienna school "think fevers in the highest degree inflammatory which were perhaps only gastric, as was evidently the case with the emperor," although many patients recovered without bleeding. The author mentions a pertinent article by Dr. Lenhardt, which had been noticed shortly before in the *Anzeiger*,† to whose therapeutic views he inclined. These were that the

* *L.c.*, No. 119, 18th May.

† No. 112, 10th May.

emperor was suffering from "inflammatory matters," "impure fermenting substances," "acridities" and "degenerated bile" in the *primæ viæ*, which substances should have been energetically evacuated, and thereby his life would have been saved. This having been neglected, the inflammation so quickly got the upper hand that it turned to gangrene. From this article we also learn that two and-a-half hours before his death the doctors gave such a reassuring prognosis that his son Francis II., left the bedside. Lagusius, according to Lenhardt, was quietly sitting at a gentleman's dinner table, when he received the news of the emperor's death, which must have shocked him not a little.

The author then returns to Hahnemann's article and says:—

Nevertheless I do not maintain with Herr Stöller that Herr Hahnemann's article is unfair, improper and useless.

Not *unfair*, because in the domain of science every thinking man has a right to judge openly and fearlessly all subjects relating to his science. Herr Hahnemann is 'doctor' and what is more a learned man and may, in this character, just as well take the imperial physicians to task as of yore Dr. Luther, relying on his diploma of doctor, did the Roman curia.

Not *improper*, for every intelligent man may speak his mind on every subject of human knowledge unless he thinks it more politic to hold his tongue. Posterity, however will not do so, and if all contemporary physicians are silent, it will certainly ask the question, why the emperor Leopold died so quickly? What was the cause of his death? How was his malady treated? Why should a learned man who found himself in a position to speak freely not do so? Is not every intelligent, unprejudiced, cool and impartial observer a representative or, if you prefer it, a precursor of posterity as the morning star is of the sun?

Not *useless*, if the opinion—

1. That a too energetic mode of treatment is a common cause of serious metastases, and also
2. That the highest criterion of practical skill and prudence—the ability to foresee and avert metastases—can be thereby made to penetrate the minds of physicians more than hitherto.

Not useless,

3. If from this incident the difference between true and inflammatory-like fevers can be more plainly distinguished, and the

latter treated more by attending to the *primæ viæ* than by bleeding and resolvents, and thereby many valuable lives may be saved.

"Attention to the *primæ viæ*" was a euphemism for emetics and purgatives.

Meanwhile on the 11th of June* the emperor's physicians explain: "That the morbid condition was quite different from that which Hahnemann had represented on the report of ignorant journalists." (Hahnemann had founded his attack on the report of Dr. Lagusius himself.) Further, we must have a poor idea of Hahnemann's medical knowledge "if he maintains that a second bleeding should never be undertaken if the first has not given relief." "His majesty when he was taken ill, was not the least in an exhausted condition," (Stöller and also Lenhardt maintained the contrary), "but was very strong, and thus was in a condition to be attacked by violent inflammation in both the pleural and peritoneal cavities, and this was best combated by venesection. It was not thought to be pleurisy, because no cough was present, but a rheumatic inflammatory fever which was then very prevalent in Vienna. Vomiting came on only at the last because neither flatus nor anything else could be removed by clysters from the distended abdomen." They subjoined the following report of the autopsy.....

Nec thoracis cavitates vitio immunes erant, quippe pulmo dexter nimis flaccidus erat, et cavum pectoris sinistrum continuit serum extravasatum, *semipurulentum* ad lb. 1. Superior pulmonis lobus inflammatu. Pleura eo in loco, ubi dolor acutissimus sentiebatur, spondæ membrana obtecta erat. Cor transversim sectum sanum erat attamen nimis flaccidum.....Ex quibus.....descriptis.....pronum est concludere, acutissimam inflammationem optimum Monarchum inter paucos dies e medio sustulisse.

So the emperor died from an attack of inflammation of the chest with sero-purulent exudation, and the foremost physicians of Vienna diagnosed "rheumatic inflammatory fever." Even the autopsy did not put them on the right track, the diagnosis remained "a very violent inflamma-

* L.c., No. 137.

tion" of the peritoneal and pleural cavities. The "signs of inflammation" which they found in the abdominal viscera are omitted for the sake of brevity. The bowel seems not have been opened, of the condition of its mucous membrane we are told nothing in spite of the chronic diarrhoea which was present. The article concludes: "The medicines which the inquisitive doctor wishes to know consisted of antiphlogistic nitrous remedies and enemata. They were given to arrest the violent inflammation which was clearly shown to have existed by the autopsy, as is shown in the report."

Lastly, a minute report was promised by the physician in ordinary Lagusius. Hahnemann on June 14th (No. 140) declared:—

1. That the reply of the emperor's physicians was made with less calmness than the occasion required and that it answered nothing.

2. That Herr von Lagusius should produce the full report of "this remarkable disease" which had been expected for ten weeks. "He will not refuse our request and will tell his ignorant contemporaries the weighty authorities according to whom a patient should be bled a second, third and fourth time, if the previous bleedings produce no amelioration. He will present us with a history of the case which in pragmatic exactitude, lucid description and veracious fidelity will breathe the spirit of the Asclepiades of Cos."

Kurt Sprengel* calls this attack of Hahnemann's "fanatical," without finding any further fault with it. The defence of the emperor's physicians he calls "very unsatisfactory" and informs us that the promised full history of the case *did not appear*.

That it was not Hahnemann's intention to be little his adversaries is shown by his defending Störck in 1791 against other physicians,† and pronouncing him one of the greatest physicians; though his true should be carefully

* *Kritische Uebersicht des Zustandes der Arzneykunde im letzter Jahrzehend*, Halle, 1801, p. 139.

† Translation of Monro II., p. 324.

separated from his false opinions; also in Hufeland's *Journal* (1806, 3, p. 49) he declares him worthy of a statue.

In the year 1805 Hahnemann gave utterance to the following sally :*

With the exception of what a few distinguished men, to wit, Conrad Gesner, Störck, Cullen, Alexander, Coste and Willemet have done, by administering *simple* medicines alone and uncombined in certain diseases, or to persons in health, the rest is nothing but opinion, illusion, deception.

In 1808 he sharply and truly criticises the actual condition of therapeutics,† and at the same time enumerates the modes of treatment employed by the older and younger practitioners of the time :

The method of treating most diseases by scouring out the stomach and bowels :—the method of treatment which aims its medicinal darts at imaginary acridities and impurities in the blood and other humours, at cancerous, rachitic, scrofulous, gouty, herpetic and scorbutic acridities—the method of treatment that presupposes in most diseases a species of fundamental morbid action, such as dentition or derangements of the biliary system, or haemorrhoids, or infarctus, or obstructions in the mesenteric glands, or worms, and directs the treatment against these—the method which imagines it has always to do with debility, and conceives it is bound to stimulate, and re-stimulate (which they call *strengthen*)—the method which regards the diseased body as a mere chemically decomposed mass which must be restored to the proper chemical condition by chemical (nitrogenous, oxygenous, hydrogenous) antidotes :—another method that supposes diseases to have no other originating cause but mucosities—another that sees only inspissation of the juices—another that sees nought but acids—and yet another that thinks it has only to combat putridity, &c.

Imagine the embarrassment in which a physician must be placed, when he comes to the sick-bed, as to whether he should follow this method or the other, in what perplexity he must be when neither the one nor the other mode of treatment avails him; how he, misled now by this, now by that view, feels himself constrained to prescribe now one, now another medicinal formula, again to abandon them and administer something totally different and, finding that none will suit the case, he thinks to effect, by the strength of the doses of most powerful and costly medicines, that cure which he knows not

* *Aesculapius in the Balance.* *Lesser Writings*, p. 488.

† *On the present want of foreign medicines,* *Allg. Anz. d. Deutschen No. 207.* *Lesser Writings*, 553.

(nor any of his colleagues either) how to bring about mildly by means of small, rare doses of the simple but appropriate medicine.

In the same year 1808 he says in his treatise, *On the value of the speculative systems of medicine* :*

I pass on to *pathology*, a science in which that same love of system, which has crazed the brains of the metaphysical physiologists, has caused a like misapplication of intellect in the attempt to search into the internal essence of diseases, in order to discover what it is that causes diseases of the organism to become diseases. This they called the *proximate internal cause*.....

After humoral pathology (that conceit, which took especially with the vulgar, of considering the diseased body as a vessel full of impurities of all sorts, and of acridities with Greek names which were supposed to cause the obstruction and vitiation of the fluids and solids, putrefaction, fever, everything, in short, whereof the patient complained, and which they fancied they could overcome by sweetening, diluting, purifying, loosening, thickening, cooling and evacuating measures) had, now under a gross, now under a more refined form, lasted through many ages, with occasional interludes of many lesser and greater systems —(to wit, the mechanical origin of diseases, the doctrine which derives diseases from the original form of the parts, that which ascribes them to spasms and paralysis, the solid and the nerve pathology,† the chemical pathology, &c.) the seer Brown appeared, who, as though he had explored the pent secrets of Nature, stepped forward with amazing assurance, assumed one primary principle of life (irritability), would have it to be quantitatively increased and diminished, accumulated and exhausted in diseases, and made no account of any other source of disease, but ascribed all diseases to want or excess of strength. He gained the adherence of the whole German medical world, a sure proof that their previous medical notions had never convinced and satisfied their minds, and had only floated before them in dim and flickering forms. They caught eagerly at this one-sidedness, which they persuaded themselves into believing was genuine simplicity.....And what was, after all, his one-sided irritability? Could he attach any definite and intelligible idea to it? Did he not mystify us with a flood of words destitute of meaning? Did he not draw us into a treatment of disease, which, while it answers in but few instances, and then imperfectly, could not but in the preponderating remainder give rise to an aggravation or speedy death.

Nevertheless Hahnemann was not blind to the services of others. He shows this with regard to Brown in his

* *Allg. Anz. d. D. Lesser Writings*, p. 561.

† Nerve pathology was the doctrine that attributed disease to a reaction of the nerves against unusual irritations.

excellent essay : *Observations on the three current modes of treatment.**

But let us do him justice ! whilst we see that the glory which was to constitute the apotheosis of his original head vanishes, whilst the Titan who sought aimlessly to heap Pelion on Ossa, quietly descends from the rank of heroes—whilst we see that his colossal plan to turn everything topsy-turvy in the domain of *Æsculapius* is dashed to pieces, and that the myriads of special diseases cannot be referred by him to one or two causes, or what is the same thing, be decreed by him to consist of two or three identical diseases differing from one another only in degree, nor their infinite varieties be cured by two or three stimulants or non-stimulants—whilst we consign all these arabesque eccentricities to the domain of fable, let us not forget to do him the justice to acknowledge that with a powerful arm he routed the whole gang of humoral, acridity and saburrall physicians who, with lancet, tepid drinks, miserable diet, emetics, purgatives and all the nameless varieties of resolvents, threatened to destroy our generation, or at least to deteriorate it radically and reduce it to the lowest possible condition ; that he reduced the number of diseases requiring antiphlogistic treatment to three per cent. of their former amount ; that he determined more accurately the influence of the six so-called non-natural things on our health ; that he refuted the imaginary advantage of vegetable over animal diet to the advantage of mankind ; that he restored to the rank of a remedial agent a judicious regimen, and that he reintroduced the old distinction between diseases from defect of stimulus and those from excess of stimulus, and taught with some degree of truth the difference of their treatment in a general way. This may reconcile us with his manes!

Very few physicians—perhaps none—saw as clearly as Hahnemann in those days ; it was his strong hand which first succeeded in putting down the mob of bleeding and purging doctors.

Our author continues his criticism :†

The transcendental school repudiated the idea of having but one fundamental vital force. The reign of dualism commenced. Now we were fooled by the natural philosophers. For of such seers there was no lack, each devised a new view of things, each wove a different system, having nothing in common but the morbid propensity not only to evolve from their inner consciousness an exact *a priori* account of the nature and universal constitution of things, but actually to look on themselves as the creators of the whole, and to construct it out of their heads each according to his own fashion.

* Hufeland's *Journal* XI., St. 4, 1809. *Lesser Writings*, p. 623.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 562.

All the utterances they maundered forth respecting life in the abstract and the essential nature of man were—like their whole conception—so unintelligible, so hollow and unmeaning, that no clear sense could be drawn from them. Human speech, which is only fitted to convey the impressions of sense and the ideas immediately flowing from them.....refused to express their conceits, their extravagant fantastic visions ; and, therefore, they had to babble them forth in new-fangled, high-sounding words, superlunary locutions, eccentric rhapsodies and unheard of phrases without any sense, and get involved in such gossamer subtleties, that one felt at a loss to know which was the most appropriate—a satire on such a misdirection of mental energy or an elegy on its ill success. We have to thank natural philosophy for the disorder and dislocation of many a young doctor's understanding. Moreover, their self-conceit was yet too much inflated for them to trouble themselves with the study of diseases or their cure ; they were content to prate about their dualism, their polarization, their representation, their reflex, their differentiation and indifferentiation, their potentiation and depotentiation. This natural philosophy still lives and flourishes in a far-fetched doctrine of the spiritualization of matter, and in ecstatic hallucinations concerning the creation and order of the universe and its microcosm—man.

After describing the natural philosophical doctrine of sensibility, irritability and reproduction, and characterising it as a playing with empty words, he continues :*

How impossible is it by all these barren *a priori*s to obtain such a just view of the different maladies as shall enable us to find the remedy suited to each—which ought to be the sole aim of the healing art ! How can one justify to a sound judgment the seeking to make these speculative subtleties, which can never be made concrete and applicable, the chief study of the practical physician ?

In the above-mentioned treatise he also criticises the *materia medicas* of his time :†

And whence do these authorities on *materia medica* draw their data ? Surely not from an immediate revelation ? In truth, one would almost be induced to believe they must have flowed to them from direct inspiration, for they cannot be derived from the practice of physicians, who, it is well known, hold it beneath their dignity to prescribe one single, simple medicament and nothing more in a disease, and would let the patient die and the medical art ever remain as a no art, sooner than part with their learned prerogative of writing *artistically compounded prescriptions*.

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 564.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 569.

Most of the imputed virtues of the simple drugs have, in the first place, obtained a footing in domestic practice and been brought into vogue by the vulgar and non-professional.

Barren information of this sort was collected by the old herbalists, Mattholi, Tabernaemontanus, Gesner, Fuchs, Lonicer, Ray, Tournefort, Bock, Lobel, Thurneisser, Clusius, Bauhin, &c., very briefly, superficially and confusedly, and interwoven with baseless and superstitious conjectures, intermingled with that which the unciting Dioscorides had in a similar manner collected, and from this unsifted catalogue was our learned-looking *materia medica* supplied. One authority copied another down to our own times. Such is its not very trustworthy origin.

The few books that form an exception to this (Bergius and Cullen), are all the more meagre in data respecting the properties of the medicine; consequently, as they for the most part, the latter especially, reject the vague and doubtful, we can gain *little positive* knowledge from them.

Similar opinions respecting the allopathic *materia medica* we frequently find in more recent literature; we might fill a volume with them. But in Hahnemann's time such attacks were unheard of, "audacious" as the allopaths maintained. No physician since Paracelsus had dared to expose with such frankness and boldness the miserable condition of the medical treatment of the period.

In an anonymous article,* in the year 1808, after he had for twenty years past been calling the attention of his contemporary physicians to the evils wrought by the healing art he writes:—

It must some time or other be loudly and publicly said, so let it now be boldly and frankly said before the whole world, that our art requires a thorough reform from top to bottom. What should not be done is done, and what is essential is utterly neglected. The evil has come to such a pitch that the well-meant mildness of a John Huss is no longer of any use, but the fiery zeal of a stalwart Martin Luther is required to clear away this monstrous leaven.

No other science or art, or even handicraft, has advanced so little with the progress of time, no art is so behindhand in its radical imperfection as the medical art.

Sometimes one fashion is followed, sometimes another, first one theory then another, and when the new does not seem to answer, the old is again tried (which was found to be inadequate before). Treatment

* *Allg. Anz. d. D.*, No. 207. *Lesser Writings*, p. 573.

is always guided, not by conviction, but by opinion, each new mode of treatment was the more artistic and learned the less it succeeded, so that we are reduced to the wretched and hopeless choice of one of the numerous methods, almost all equally impotent, and have no fixed therapeutic principles of acknowledged value. Each follows the teaching of his own school and what his imagination suggests to him, and everyone finds in the immense magazine of opinions, authorities to which he can refer for confirmation.

At the conclusion of his treatise *On the value of the speculative systems of medicine*, he exclaims :*

Such is the fearful but too true condition of the medical art hitherto, which, under the treacherous promise of recovery and health, has been gnawing at the life of so many of the inhabitants of earth.

Oh! that it were mine to direct the better portion of the medical world, who can feel for the sufferings of their fellow creatures, and long to know how they may relieve them, to those purer principles which lead directly to the desired goal.

The proving of drugs on the healthy organism.

It is true that in all ages drugs were proved, and that on the healthy body. On this point Hahnemann says :†

But in all the works on *Materia Medica*, from Dioscorides down to the latest books on this subject, there is almost nothing said about the special peculiar action of individual medicines ; but, besides an account of their supposed utility in various nosological names of diseases, it is merely stated whether they promote the secretion of urine, perspiration, expectoration or menstruation, and more particularly whether they produce evacuation of the stomach and bowels upwards or downwards ; because all the aspirations and efforts of the practitioner have ever been chiefly directed to cause the expulsion of a material morbid matter, and of sundry (fictitious) acridities, on which it was imagined diseases depended.

There were a few exceptions to this, as Hahnemann admits, for instance, Conrad Gesner, Störck, Cullen, Alexander, Coste and Willemet. Haller also is honourably mentioned by Hahnemann on account of his proposal to ascertain the effects of medicines by provings on the human organism. But even these men only proved medicines *in isolated cases*, none of them proceeded systematically.

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 573.

† *Organon*, 5 Edit. Dudgeon's trans. p. 16.

Hahnemann was the first who made the proving of medicines a system.

As early as 1790 we see Hahnemann experimenting with drugs upon himself. In 1796 he writes in Hufeland's *Journal** that the search for specific remedies† was the most desirable and praiseworthy undertaking, but he laments the utter want of any principle for discovering them; hitherto experience only has been the doubtful guide. "*Nothing then remains for us but to test the medicines on our own bodies.* The necessity of this has been perceived in all ages, but a false way was generally followed, inasmuch as they were only employed empirically and capriciously in diseases." In this way, he continues, no certain results could be gathered, more especially as medicines were given mixed together.

"The true physician whose sole aim is to perfect his art can make use of no other information concerning medicines than—

"First, what is the pure action of each by itself on the healthy human body.

"Secondly, what do observations of their action in various simple or complicated maladies teach us?"

In order to ascertain the actions of drugs on the healthy body, he recommends proving on ourselves and the study of records of poisoning. "A complete collection of this kind of information with estimation of the degree of reliance to be placed on their reporters would be, if I am not very much mistaken, the foundation stone of a *materia medica*, the sacred book of its revelation....."

* II., St. 3, p. 465. *Lesser Writings*, 309 *et. seq.*

† In this place we may observe that the word *specific* has a different meaning in homœopathy to what it has among allopathic therapeutists. The latter understand by specific remedies such as are employed for a certain disease; thus for them quinine is a specific for ague, mercury for syphilis, &c. The physician who seeks for *one* medicine for a form of disease, falls into routine practice. Homœopathists understand by specific remedies such as are capable of influencing under certain conditions, certain organs and tissues, these and none other.

He zealously occupied himself and others who devoted themselves to it with the proving of medicines, the collection of cases of poisoning and the formation from the results thus arrived at of a *materia medica* which should be free from all assumptions and founded only on experiment.

His great endeavour was to found a physiological *materia medica*.

His first essay of this kind was called, *Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum positivis*, Lipsiæ, 1805, wherein he arranged systematically the results of his provings and of his studies. He himself says of it in the preface : “ *Nemo me melius novit, quam manca sint et tenua.*” Nevertheless a merely superficial glance at this collection will show with what devoted diligence and earnestness of conviction he worked at it. The book consists of two parts, of which the first contains 269, the second with the repertory of the first, 470 pages.

The drugs in this work whose effects he partly proved on himself and partly gleaned from the toxicological observations of others, are the following in their order : Aconitum napellus, tinctura acris (Hahnemann's causticum), arnica, belladonna, camphor, lytta vesicatoria (cantharides), capsicum annum, chamomilla, china, coccus, cuprum vitriolatum, digitalis, hyoscyamus, ignatia, ipecacuanha, ledum palastre, helleborus niger, mezereum, nux vomica, opium, pulsatilla, rheum, stramonium, valeriana, veratrum album.

In the same year, 1805, he says in his *Medicine of Experience* :* “ those substances which we term medicines are unnatural irritants, only calculated to disturb the health of our body, our life and the functions of our organs, and to excite disagreeable sensations, in one word to render the healthy—sick. There is no medicine whatever which does not possess this tendency, and no substance is medicinal which does not possess it.”

Therefore he required the most exact proving of drugs on the human body in order to ascertain their powers. In

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 514.

the following year, 1806, Hahnemann contributed another essay on drug provings and minute individualization to Hufeland's *Journal*.* Two years later he discourses† in his article *On substitutes for foreign drugs and on the recent announcement of their superfluousness*, in the following manner :—

Let us only teach physicians *principles of universal applicability* according to which the powers of drugs may be ascertained and tested with certainty, as to what each is incontrovertibly useful and suitable for, to what cases of disease each is unexceptionably adapted, and what is the proper dose..... But we are by a long way not so far advanced as this. No principles are yet universally recognised, according to which the curative powers of medicines—(even of such as have never yet been employed at the sick bed) can with certainty be ascertained *a priori*, without first subjecting them to the infinitely tedious process of *testing them in haphazard fashion at the sick bed*, which is almost never convincing and is usually attended with injurious effects. This obscure mode *ab effectu in morbis* whereby little or nothing is determined, has, moreover, the cruel and unpardonable disadvantage that the individual, naturally so irritable when diseased, is apt to be made worse by so many blindly instituted experiments, and may even fall a victim to them, especially since the recent fashion of prescribing large doses of powerful medicines has been adopted.

But as long as the former better method is not established in the State, and the latter mode only is so, which has been from the beginning acknowledged to be unserviceable and insufficient—so long will contradictory opinions of physicians relative to the curative powers of medicines continue.

A glaring instance of these “contradictory opinions of physicians” had just been given: the Vienna medical faculty had pronounced cascarilla quite superfluous,‡ while

* *On Substitutes for China*, xxiii. St. 4, p. 27. *British Journal of Homœopathy*, xlvi. 212.

† *Allg. Anz. d. D.*, No. 237. *Lesser Writings*, p. 574.

‡ In consequence of the continental blockade there occurred a sensible deficiency of foreign drugs, particularly for the immoderate doses of medicine then in vogue. That most keenly felt by physicians was the want of cinchona bark, for which a vast number of substitutes, mostly complicated mixtures of bitter drugs, was proposed. (Hahnemann repeatedly declared that there could be no surrogates in the sense attached to the word by his colleagues, and in 1808 advised as the best help out of the difficulty that it should be noted that when the

the well-known Professor Hecker, of Berlin, in No. 221 of the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen* maintained—"Cascarilla is not only equally efficacious with cinchona bark in intermittent fever, but is even preferable." Hahnemann showed that this was an unwarrantable assumption, because Hecker never employed cascara alone, nor does he mention in what kind of intermittent fever he gave it.

Similia Similibus.

In order to learn what that "better method" referred to is we must go back some years. In the *Instruction to surgeons concerning venereal diseases*,* 1789, Hahnemann speaks of the mode of action of mercury, which he alleged to be a counter-irritant action on the body, gave a description of in its most developed form, and called "mercurial fever." He had thus already left the beaten track, for it was the fashion to believe that it acted by removing the "miasma" by means of salivation, sweat, diarrhoea or urinary secretion. Hahnemann considered the production of his "mercurial fever" necessary for the cure of syphilis.

In the following year, 1790, Hahnemann translated Cullen's *Materia Medica*. Cullen (II. 108) explains the efficacy of cinchona in intermittent fever by the "strengthening power it exerts on the stomach," and adds, "that he has never met with anything in any book which made him doubt the truth of his view." Hahnemann rejects this explanation in a note, and adds:—

Let us consider the following:—Substances such as strong coffee, pepper, arnica, ignatia and arsenic, which cause a kind of fever, extinguish the periodicity of intermittent fevers. For the sake of experiment, I took for several days four drachms of good cinchona bark twice a day;

medicine was suitable such large doses were not required). Difficulties were also experienced from the failure of the supply of other drugs which the Vienna Faculty sought to overcome by publishing in the *Allg. Anz. d. Deutschen*, 1808, No. 305, a list of foreign medicines which they alleged to be "quite superfluous," as for instance Peruvian balsam, copaiba, cina, colocynth, sarsaparilla, senega, tamarinds, &c.

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 77.

my feet, finger tips, &c., first grew cold, I became exhausted and sleepy ; then my heart began to palpitate, my pulse became hard and rapid ; I had intolerable anxiety, trembling (but not rigor), prostration in all my limbs ; then throbbing in the head, flushing of the cheeks, thirst, and in short all the ordinary symptoms of intermittent fever [Hahnemann had suffered from ague in Erlangen, *Monro*, II, 396] appeared one after another, but without actual febrile rigor. In a word, even the special characteristic symptoms of intermittent fever, dulness of the senses, a kind of stiffness of all the joints, and in particular the disagreeable numb sensation which seemed to be located in the periosteal covering of all the bones of the body, made their appearance. This paroxysm lasted two to three hours each time and returned when I repeated the dose, otherwise not. On leaving off the drug I was soon quite well.

On page 115 he mentions that a kind of artificial fever must be produced by ipecacuanha in order to cure certain forms of intermittent fever.

In 1791 his translation of *Monro* appeared (1794, a second unaltered edition). Here, also, he holds the view (II. 333) that "in insidious fevers from unknown causes in which the vital force is sluggish, a new, strengthening and efficacious fever" must be excited. In the chapter on cinchona, he again declares against "its tonic action" as the cause of its febrifuge property. (II. 378) "If, however, we accept the view given at length in my note in Cullen's *Mat. Medica*, that bark in addition to its tonic action, overpowers and suppresses the intermittent fever chiefly by exciting a fever of short duration of its own, it will not be difficult to explain this paradox. All other substances capable of exciting counter-irritation and artificial fever, given shortly before the paroxysm, check intermittent fever quite as specifically, but they cannot be relied upon with such certainty."

"*Similia similibus*" had not been pronounced, though he remarks (II. 181) that the mercurial disease resembled that of syphilis, without making any application of the resemblance. He started with the idea of aiding the inherent recuperative power by a medicinal excitant acting directly on the part affected, while his contemporaries were talking of resolving obstructions, expelling acridities and evil humours, removing the "morbidly over-produced, accumu-

lated inflammatory blood" from organs, remedying poverty of blood, counter-irritating, altering, strengthening, astringing, giving tone, &c.

As a therapeutic axiom, he first alludes to the *simile* in the year 1796, in the well-known article in Hufeland's *Journal: Essay on a new principle for discovering the curative power of drugs.** In the first place he speaks of the several ways adopted in practical medicine for treating the pathological changes of the body.

The first way, to remove or destroy the fundamental cause of the disease, was the most elevated it could follow. All the imaginings and aspirations of the best physicians in all ages were directed to this object, the most worthy of the dignity of our art.

Further on he speaks of this method as above all criticism, but says that the drugs chosen were not always those best adapted for the purpose.

I shall now take leave of this royal road, and examine the other two ways of applying medicines.

The author then mentions the drugs which act according to the principle *contraria contrariis*, for instance, purgatives in constipation, venesection, cold and saltpetre in inflammations, alkalies in acidity of the stomach, opium in neuralgia.

In acute diseases, which, if we remove the obstacles to recovery for but a few days, Nature will herself generally conquer, or if we cannot do so, succumb; in acute diseases, I repeat, this application of remedies is proper, to the purpose and sufficient, as long as we do not possess the above-mentioned philosopher's stone (the knowledge of the fundamental cause of each disease, and the means of its removal), or as long as we have no rapidly acting specific.

In chronic diseases, he contends, the mode of treatment according to *contraria contrariis* must be rejected; it is improper to treat constipation by purgatives, the excited circulation of hysterical, cachectic and hypochondriacal patients by venesection, acid eructations by alkalies, chronic pains by opium, &c.

And although the great majority of my medical brethren still adhere to this method, I do not fear to call it palliative, injurious and destructive.

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 295.

I beseech my colleagues to abandon this method (*contraria contrariis*) in chronic diseases, and in such acute diseases as tend to assume a chronic character ; it is the deceitful bye-path in the dark forest that leads to the fatal swamp. The vain empiric imagines it to be the beaten highway, and plumes himself on the wretched power of giving a few hours' ease, unconcerned if, during this specious calm, the disease plant its roots still deeper.

But I am not singular in warning against this fatal practice. The better, more discerning and conscientious physicians have from time to time sought for remedies (the *third way*) for chronic diseases and acute diseases tending to chronic, which should not cloak the symptoms, but which should remove the disease radically, in one word for *specific* remedies.....

But what guided them, what principle induced them to try such remedies ? Alas ! only a precedent from the empirical game of hazard, from domestic practice, chance cases in which these substances were accidentally found useful in this or that disease, often only in peculiar unmentioned combinations, which might perhaps never again occur ; sometimes in pure simple diseases. It were deplorable indeed if only chance and empirical hap-hazard could be considered as our guides in the discovery and application of the proper, the true remedies for chronic diseases, which certainly constitute the major portion of human ills. In order to ascertain the actions of remedial agents, for the purpose of applying them to the relief of human suffering, we should trust as little as possible to chance, but go to work as rationally and as methodically as possible.

He then demands provings of drugs on the healthy organism, as he had already mentioned.

By them alone can the true nature, the real action of medicinal substances be *methodically* discovered ; from them alone can we learn in what cases of disease they may be employed with success and certainty.

But as the key for this is still wanting, perhaps I am so fortunate as to be able to point out the principle under the guidance of which the lacunæ in medicine may be filled up, and the science perfected by the gradual discovery and application on *rational principles* of a suitable specific remedy for each, more especially for each chronic disease, among the hitherto known (and among still unknown) medicines. It is contained I may say in the following axioms.

Every powerful medicinal substance produces in the human body a peculiar kind of disease, the more powerful the medicine, the more peculiar, marked and violent the disease.

We should imitate nature, which sometimes cures a chronic disease by superadding another, and employ in the (especially chronic) disease we wish to cure, that medicine which is able to produce another very

similar artificial disease, and the former will be cured ; *similia similibus*.

We only require to know, on the one hand, the diseases of the human frame accurately in their essential characteristics and their accidental complications, and on the other hand, the pure effects of drugs, that is, the essential characteristics of the specific artificial disease and attendant symptoms caused by difference of dose, form, &c., and by choosing a remedy for a given natural disease that is capable of producing a very similar artificial disease, we shall be able to cure the most severe diseases.

This axiom has, I confess, so much the appearance of a barren, analytical formula that I must hasten to illustrate it synthetically.

Before he enters upon this he makes a few more remarks on the mode of action of medicines.

Most medicines have more than one action ; the first a direct action, which gradually changes into the second (which I call the indirect secondary action). The latter is generally a state exactly the opposite of the former. In this way most vegetable substances act.

But few medicines are exceptions to this rule, continuing their primary action uninterruptedly, but of the same kind, though always diminishing in degree, until after some time no trace of their action can be detected, and the natural condition of the organism is restored. Of this kind are the metallic (and other mineral?) medicines, *e.g.*, arsenic, mercury, lead.

If, in a case of chronic disease, a medicine be given whose direct primary action corresponds to the disease, the indirect secondary action is sometimes exactly the state of the body sought to be brought about.

Palliative remedies do so much harm in chronic diseases, and render them more obstinate, probably because after their first antagonistic action they are followed by a secondary action, which is similar to the disease itself.

In the "elucidation by examples" of his therapeutic principle, he cites a number of drugs. Hahnemann here commits a great error, the greatest possible under the circumstances. He leaves the method by induction too soon, and assumes the truth of many effects of drugs which he should first have tested. Various hypotheses are quoted instead of evidence, while other examples are very unsatisfactory. If he had only made use of unassailable demonstrations as he did with belladonna, mercury, arsenic, aconite, veratrum album, ipecacuanha, rhus, and discarded all doubtful matter, he would have much better served his cause.

We shall here quote some of Hahnemann's evidence, we must, however, not forget that he was a child of his times and could not have the knowledge of our day.

Belladonna excites mania and convulsions, therefore it is effectual in certain cases of insanity and epilepsy. "Its great tendency to paralyse the optic nerve, renders it, as a similarly acting substance, an important remedy in amaurosis, in which I have myself seen very good results."

It produces a kind of sleeplessness and cures it. Belladonna has been found useful in serous apoplexy, and it produces similar states.

Hyoscyamus produces and cures a certain kind of mania. It excites convulsions and is, therefore, beneficial in epilepsy. For similar reasons it sometimes cures chronic sleeplessness. Mercury produces rodent ulcers and caries of the bones ; "experience has confirmed the usefulness of this specific." Arsenic, according to Hahnemann's own experience, is very apt to excite febrile rigors and a paroxysm recurring daily, each time weaker. It is therefore a curative drug in intermittent fever. Hufeland remarks thereupon in a note : "I must here remark with all due deference to the author, that I cannot yet accept the internal use of arsenic in intermittent fever."

Arsenic causes many chronic skin eruptions and also cures them under certain conditions.

Rhus causes erysipelatous skin eruptions and can heal them. Rheum causes diarrhœa and cures certain kinds.

Every physician who studies Hahnemann's writings in an impartial spirit, must come to the conclusion that with many faults he was honestly anxious to find in the mighty chaos of assumptions, guesses, theoretical speculations and bewildering variety of experience, a firm footing on the ground of natural science for the foundation of medicine.

From some remarks of Hahnemann in the following years, we see that he was quietly and incessantly occupied with the construction of a therapeutics according to his principles. In 1799 he remarks in his *Apothekerlexicon* (in which he gives observations on the action of single drugs) with regard to sabina, that the leaves and oil of this plant have the power

of exciting haemorrhages especially from the uterus, and may be successfully employed in such affections under certain circumstances. Also *apropos* of *hyoscyamus* he alleges that its toxic effects greatly resemble diseases which can be cured by it. In the following year he recommends *belladonna* in scarlet fever on the same therapeutic principle.

In 1805 the *Medicine of Experience* appeared, in which Hahnemann pursues the following train of thought.*

Every disease is owing to some abnormal *irritation* of a peculiar character, which deranges the functions and healthy state of our organs.

To this main maxim he adds two "maxims of experience":

First maxim of experience.

When two abnormal irritations act simultaneously on the body, *if the two be dissimilar*, then the action of the one (the weaker) irritation will be suppressed and suspended for some time by the other (the stronger).

Second maxim of experience.

When the two irritations greatly resemble each other; then the one (the weaker) irritation, together with its effects, will be completely extinguished and *annihilated* by the analogous power of the other (the stronger).

He supports these axioms by examples from daily practice and concludes :

In order therefore to be able to *cure*, we shall only require to *oppose to the existing abnormal irritation of the disease an appropriate medicine*, that is to say, *another morbid power whose effect is very similar to that the disease displays*.

Further on he says :

It is only by this property of producing in the healthy body a series of specific morbid symptoms, that medicine can cure diseases, that is to say, remove and extinguish the morbid irritation by a suitable counter-irritation. Every simple medicinal substance, like the specific morbid miasma (small-pox, measles, the venom of vipers, the saliva of rabid animals, &c.) causes a peculiar specific disease—a series of determinate symptoms, which is not produced precisely in the same way by any other medicine in the world.....

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 510.

In order to follow still further this natural guide, and to penetrate more profoundly into this source of knowledge, we administer these medicines experimentally, the weaker as well as the stronger, each singly and uncombined, to healthy individuals with caution and carefully removing all accessory circumstances capable of exercising an influence ; we note down the symptoms they occasion precisely in the order in which they occur, and thus we obtain the pure result of the form of disease that each of these medicinal substances is capable of producing, absolutely and by itself, in the human body.

In this way we must obtain a knowledge of a sufficient supply of artificial morbific agents (medicines) for curative implements, so that we may be able to make a selection from among them. My *Fragmēta de viribus medicamentorum* are something of this sort.

From this method of employing drugs he distinguishes the palliative method, according to which purgatives are given in constipation, opium in pain, cold in inflammation, &c.

We cannot refrain from quoting the following paragraphs, though we may be accused of repetition.

If we observe attentively we shall perceive that wise nature produces the greatest effects with simple, often with small means. To imitate her in this should be the highest aim of the reflecting mind. But the greater the number of means and appliances we heap together in order to attain a single object, the farther do we stray from the precepts of our great instructress, and the more miserable will be our work.

With a few simple remedies, used singly one after the other, more frequently however with one alone, we may restore to normal harmony the greatest derangements of the diseased body, we may change the most chronic, apparently incurable diseases (not unfrequently in the shortest space of time) into health—whereas we may, by the employment of a heap of ill-selected and composite remedies, see the most insignificant ailments degenerate into the greatest, most formidable and most incurable diseases.

Which of these two methods will the professor of the healing art, who strives after perfection, choose ? A single simple remedy is *always* calculated to produce the most beneficial effects, without any additional means ; provided it be the best selected, the most appropriate, and in the proper dose. It is *never* requisite to mix two of them together.

We administer a medicine in order if possible to remove the whole disease by this single substance, or if this be not completely practicable, to observe from the effect of the medicine what still remains to be cured. One, two, or at the most three simple medicines are sufficient for the removal of the greatest disease

and if this result does not follow, the fault lies with us ; it is not nature, nor the disease, that is to blame.*

Now, as in every case, only a single simple medicinal substance is necessary, no true physician would ever think of degrading himself and his art and defeating his own object, by giving a mixture of medicines. It will rather be a sign that he is certain of his subject if we find him prescribing only a single medicinal substance.†

In this work he attempts to support his therapeutic principle by quotations from the writings of the older physicians.

Occasionally, however, physicians suspected that it was that property of medicines (now confirmed by innumerable observations) of exciting (positive) symptoms analogous to the disease, by virtue of a tendency inherent in them, which enabled them to effect real cures. But this ray of truth, I confess, seldom penetrated the spirit of our schools, enshrouded as they were in a cloud of systems.

Thus Hippocrates or the author of the book Περὶ τέπων τῶν κατ' αὐθρωπον (Basil. 1538, fol. page 72, lin. 35) give utterance to the remarkable words : διὰ τὰ ὄμοια νοῦσος γίνεται, καὶ διὰ τὰ ὄμοια προσφερόμενα ἐκ νοσεύντων ὑγιαίνονται, &c.

He adds the names of Detharding, Major, Brendelius, Dankwerts, and in the *Organon* he also mentions Bertholon, Thoury, Störck and the Dane Stahl. In Hufeland's *Journal*‡ he says in 1807 :

Though here and there a wise man was found who had the courage to oppose the general ideas and to advocate "similia similibus," this proposition did not find general acceptance.

Hahnemann adds later on in the *Organon* : §

I do not bring forward the following passages from authors who had a presentiment of homœopathy as proofs in support of this doctrine, which is firmly established on its own merits, but in order to avoid the imputation of having suppressed these foreshadowings with the view of securing for myself the credit of the priority of the idea.

He might well say, however :|| "None has as yet *taught* this homœopathic therapeutic doctrine ;" emphasis being placed on the word "taught."

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 533.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 536.

‡ Vol. XXVI., St. 2, pp. 5 and 6.

§ Dudgeon's translation, p. 106.

|| *Organon*, 1st edit., p. 5.

In the year 1807, in Hufeland's *Journal*, he attempts to support his therapeutic principle by very numerous quotations of the observations of earlier physicians,* in addition to his former instances. But here again he allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal ; the selection of his evidence was not sufficiently careful, so that his opponents in many cases easily discovered inaccuracies

Hahnemann's views respecting disease and his examination of the patient.

As early as in 1786 Hahnemann blames the treatment of single symptoms of a disease instead of the disease itself, the "white-washing" of symptoms as he calls it (Preface to *Arsenical Poisoning*). He speaks to the same effect in various other places, as e.g., in 1800, in the preface to the *Arzneischatz*.†

And thus as though they were independent beings endowed with free volition, each ingredient in a complete prescription has its task allotted to it, *vel invitissima Minerva Hygeiaque*, and many other things are expected of it; for there are many learned considerations in a regular classical prescription. This indication and that one must be fulfilled, three, four and more symptoms must be met by as many different remedies. Consider Arcesilas ! how many remedies must be artistically combined in order to make the attack at once from all points. Something for the tendency to vomit, something else for the diarrhoea, something else for the evening fever and night sweats. And as the patient is so weak, tonic medicines must be added, and not one alone, but several, in order that what the one cannot do (which we don't know) the other may.....

But what if all the symptoms proceeded from one cause, as is almost always the case, and there were one single drug that would meet all these symptoms.

In order, however, to obtain an accurate picture of the disease, he insisted on a minute examination of the patient and all his symptoms. He thus writes in 1805 in *Medicine of Experience* :‡—

* *Fingerzeige auf den homöopathischen Gebrauch der Arzneien in der bisherigen Praxis*, vol. XXVI., St. 2, p. 5—43. This is given in Dudgeon's translation of the *Organon*.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 402.

‡ *Lesser Writings*, p. 505.

The internal essential nature of every malady, of every individual case of disease, as far as it is necessary for us to know it for the purpose of curing it, expresses itself by the *symptoms* as they present themselves to the investigations of the true observer in their whole extent, connexion and succession.

When the physician has discovered all the observable symptoms of disease that exist, he has discovered the disease itself, he has attained the complete conception of it requisite for the cure.

To enable us to perform a cure, we require to have a faithful picture of the disease with all its manifestations, and in addition, when this can be obtained, a knowledge of its predisposing and exciting causes, in order, after effecting the cure by means of medicines, to enable us to remove these also, by means of an improved regimen, and so prevent a relapse.....

The patient relates the history of his ailments, those about him describe what they have observed in him, the physician sees, hears, feels, &c., all that there is of an altered or unusual character about him, and notes down each particular in its order, so that he may form an accurate picture of the disease.

In the following pages he gives ample instructions as to what questions should be asked the patient and how he should be examined. He himself kept a very minute record of the cases of his patients. In each case he noted exactly the history and course of the disease down to the very minutest symptoms and deviations from health. For this purpose he often spent hours examining his patient. He also informed himself of the hygienic conditions of the abode, mode of life, preparation of food, occupation of his time, &c. ; * all this at a time when physicians, with few exceptions, limited their energies to writing prescriptions.

These investigations of the disease were more and more minutely conducted by him as he became more and more convinced in the course of time that every disease had a special individual character. We very soon find him an enemy to all classifications and generalisations as the reader is already aware from his own words.† Here we may

* Comp. *Hahnemann's Leben von Albrecht*, Leipzig, 1875, p. 90, also *Elias, Hom. Gurkenmonate*, Halle, 1827, p. 29.

† Comp. *Apothekerlexicon*, II., p. 88 ; then II., part 2, pp. 62, 99, 101, 123, 151, 152. "The physician who for every pain, every cough, every diarrhœa, has recourse to opium, is an out and out quack," pp. 206, 244, 282, 327, 330, 350, 356, 358, 364, 393, 399, 432, 450, 469.

quote a few of Hahnemann's characteristic remarks in the *Arzneischatz*, of 1800, in which he insists upon the exact diagnosis and investigation of individual varieties of disease: "I think it a pity that no distinction has been made between the many varieties of dropsy, and that only one dropsy is spoken of. The division into leucophlegmatic and inflammatory is not nearly adequate, any more than that of insanity into mania and melancholia. What should we think of a botanist who recognised no division of plants except into trees and herbs?" (page 71) When pareira root is recommended, Hahnemann exclaims: "Must it then be given in all cases of renal and vesical disease without exception? What a noble remedy it must be if it can cure them all!" (page 227.)

Cinchona bark is recommended in a particular minutely described case. Hahnemann says:—"A single accurate description of a case, such as this, in which a drug should be employed, is worth a whole bulky volume of empirically jumbled prescriptions, though compounded *secundum artem*." (p. 202).

The time of administration and the duration of the action of cinchona are 'spoken of, and the contradictory views of the best physicians, Cullen, Werlhof, Morton, Talbor, &c., given. On this Hahnemann says: "How exact must have been the observations of the physicians who after their employment of one of the most extensively used medicines, *bark*, for more than 160 years in a disease marked by characteristic symptoms of the most well-defined kind, neither knew the proper time for its administration nor how long its action lasted. (I found that its action ended twenty hours after its administration.) How can they presume to give reliable instruction with regard to the action of more rarely employed drugs in less characteristically defined diseases?" (p. 245)

A mixture of chamomile, myrrh and potash is recommended in ague. Hahnemann: "These one-sided modes of procedure cannot lead us to the discovery of the truth. In the empiric powder described above, chamomile flowers were by far the most powerful ingredient, and they possess

a far greater febrifuge power than myrrh, especially in those kinds of intermittent fever in which a febrile rigor is coincident with internal and external heat. As long as they do not recognise exact symptomatic distinctions, our physicians will be no better than learned-looking quacks." (p. 258)

Apropos of a "bolus," composed of ammonio-muriate of iron and sal-ammoniac, of each eight grains, oxide of iron, 3 grains, and extract of gentian, 10 grains, to be taken twice a day in ague, Hahnemann says: "We should be told exactly in what kind of intermittent fever this wonderful mixture was of use. Why precisely so many grains of each ingredient? Did the Delphic oracle ordain those proportions, which are therefore to be regarded as a revelation? If an unfavourable condition is excited in a patient by this mixture, to which ingredient is it to be attributed? And why must ammonio-muriate of iron be given specially when the sal ammoniac and oxide of iron already form ammonio-muriate of iron—that is muriate of iron and ammonia in the stomach? No explanation is offered on these points. We must give it exactly as it is in every kind of intermittent fever! *Sic bene placitum.* Blessed are those who believe without reasoning." (p. 265)

The receipt for a "mild, agreeable and cheap" stomachic is given. Hahnemann: "We cannot imagine anything more empirical than the unqualified recommendation of one remedy as a stomachic in all cases. More general and empirical were not the recommendations of Nicander, Dioscorides, Largus, Macer or the Salernitan school. Will the day ever dawn? I doubt it." (p. 278)

In the preface (IV. note) Hahnemann writes: "Indolent ignorance has always tried to find specifics, that is, remedies which would cure a whole class of diseases, *e.g.*, intermittent fevers in general, without regard to special cases. There can, however, from the very nature of things be no such remedies any more than there can be one universally applicable process for extracting copper in the most perfect manner from all different kinds of ore, in whatever variety of combinations the metal may exist in

nature. There can be no such general remedies. But for each single case of disease, there is a particular remedy, created so to speak by nature for the purpose, which better deserves the name of a specific."*

In 1808, in *Medicine of Experience*,† Hahnemann asserts the following:—

Hence it happens that with the exception of those few diseases that are always the same, all others are *dissimilar* and *innumerable*, and so different that each of them occurs scarcely more than once in the world, and each case of disease that presents itself must be regarded (and treated) as an individual malady that never before occurred in the same manner and under the same circumstances as in the case before us, and will never again happen precisely in the same way.

This conception evidently is pushed too far, and even Hahnemann himself does not rigorously follow it. He even wished to see the names of diseases abolished, though he makes the following observation:—

We observe a few diseases that always arise from *one and the same* cause, *e.g.*, the miasmatic maladies [no distinction was made in those days between miasma and contagium], hydrophobia, the venereal disease, the plague of the Levant, yellow fever, small-pox, cow-pox, the measles and some others which bear upon them the distinctive mark of always remaining diseases of a *peculiar character*; and because they arise from a contagious principle that always remains the same, they also always retain the same character and pursue the same course, excepting as regards some accidental concomitant circumstances, which, however, do not alter their essential character.

This observation does not accord with what was previously advanced, but the imperfect state of diagnosis in those days must be remembered.

But putting aside this, Hahnemann deserves the credit of having insisted upon the strictest individualization of diseases, and he showed its necessity more conclusively than any other physician. Classification is so convenient and easy that most medical men incline to it. Hahnemann always advocated individualization, and taught it systematically in his numerous works.

* Comp. *ib.*, 184, 241, 253, 268, 275, 291, 293, 302.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 502.

Hahnemann's method of preparing medicine.

Hahnemann's homœopathic method of preparing medicine distinguished him more than anything else from all other physicians of all times. We will here trace its evolution.

At the commencement of his practice he naturally gave the usual doses. In 1784,* *e.g.*, he recommends for purifying the blood, five to fifty grains of crude powdered antimony to be taken daily, but "only when the body possesses sufficient, I might almost say a superfluity of, strength," in such cases he gave, "if necessary, but not frequently, a purgative of twenty to seventy grains of jalap root once a week."

He taught, in 1787, that good results could only be expected from conium maculatum if it is given in sufficient doses to cause giddiness, a feeling as if the eyes were pushed out of the head, slight nausea, trembling of the body, and one or several loose stools, "all signs of a full dose." "This varies with the quality of the extract and other circumstances. Commonly we pass from four grains a day to several drachms."

Twelve to fifteen grains of the powdered leaves and root of belladonna were to be given every other day. "Some giddiness should follow the administration of this powerful drug if it is to do any good."

It is the same with aconite, "of which the root seems to be the most powerful part of the whole plant." The extract prepared from the juice of the whole plant was to be given in doses from "half a grain to several grains" several times a day. The "ordinary dose" of digitalis is half to one spoonful of the freshly expressed juice of the leaves twice a day. Hyoscyamus was to be given in the form of the extract, "at first one grain several times a day, to be increased up to thirty grains a day," six to twenty grains of the seeds were to be given.†

In 1790, he gives, in "nervous fever," one and a half to

* *Guide to the Radical Cure, &c.* *B. J. of H.*, xlii., p. 132.

† *Kennzeichen der Güte, &c.*, pp. 92, 96, 98, 101.

two and a half ounces of cinchona bark (cort. chin. fusc.) in twenty-four hours, then pauses until its action has ceased.

Cullen does not notice aconitum napellus in his therapeutics, he does not even enumerate it among his "sedatives." Hahnemann makes the following remarks:—

Aconite is not mentioned. I may remind my readers that it belongs to the class of acrid narcotic plants, and has a very powerful action. My experience with the extract does not allow me to pass it over in silence. In chronic erratic gout I have applied some of the well-prepared extract with the result of speedily relieving pain. Its efficacy is most palpable and striking in chronic rheumatism and erratic gout, when given internally in sufficient dose to produce its characteristic symptoms.

These characteristic symptoms were "giddiness, restlessness, and perspiration." The first dose which produced this effect should be the last. He usually gave it for three or four evenings; the first dose was one grain, the second two, the third four grains. "If the third had no effect, I gave a fourth dose of eight grains." He then states that he has come across badly prepared extract, of which one scruple could be taken "without marked effects;*" the cause of its powerlessness was the way in which it had been prepared. The fresh juice evaporated over a water bath yields the only reliable extract of aconite, conium, hyoscyamus, belladonna, &c." (Cullen, 320).

In 1791 (Monro, I. 260), he holds the same views as in 1789 about the dose of mercury to be given in certain forms of syphilis. "The ordinary dose for an adult is a half to one grain (of his merc. solubilis) the first day, the dose to be increased daily by half a grain, up to the 5th to 7th day (not exceeding five grains)," till the so-called mercurial fever is set up, when it must be discontinued.

That he was at this time greatly in favour of powerfully acting medicines is shown by the following note (Monro had been saying that fomentations were often sprinkled over with spirit of camphor before being applied). "Such feeble prescriptions, of which contemporary practice can show many instances, we should abandon to the busy, do-

* Comp. Monro, II., p. 267.

nothing practice of the common herd of practitioners. Spirit of camphor should be applied where it is necessary, and emollient fomentations where they are required." (*ib.* II. 115).

Monro goes on to say that he has given cinchona "in very small doses" for some time in obstinate fevers. Hahnemann thereupon remarks, "This is, indeed, a perverse manner of administering bark, which if followed would not give very good results." (I. 199)

Monro mentions that people who had taken eight to ten ounces of cinchona bark in the course of a month without result, were afterwards cured by taking two to three ounces daily for two or three days. Hahnemann : "Even this quantity is not necessary; we will not over-load our patient and will attain our object in regular agues as well if we give, shortly before the expected attack, one or two good doses, say one and a half to two drachms or more of good bark two hours and one hour before the commencement of the paroxysm. All doses given long before the attack are of little or no use. If the attack does occur, a similar dose is given just before the second, half as much before the third expected paroxysm, and so on." In certain cases he was in the habit of employing a "nauseating treatment" by means of small doses of ipecacuanha, in order to "over-power" some other complaints, such as intermittent fever, diarrhoea, &c.

We shall only mention one other out of the number of examples of Hahnemannian posology in this work. Monro writes : "Hyoscyamus is not used in England, because the trials with it have been unsuccessful." Hahnemann : "Or because the drug was powerless, not having been properly prepared or used in suitable cases. I may here remark and insist that heroic drugs should be given in very small but continually increasing doses, till some severe symptoms manifest themselves, such as are produced by the drug given in a rather too large dose. If this is not done, neither hyoscyamus, aconite, belladonna nor conium can yield valuable results."

In 1792, he gave Klockenbring, who was suffering from

an attack of mania, twenty-five grains of tartrate of antimony, a dose "which only caused him usually to vomit moderately three times, sometimes even less frequently."*

In the following year he still gave this remedy in doses of five to twenty grains,† and indeed, considered that under certain circumstances this dose was necessary to save life, "where ordinary physicians with their trumpery remedies are slumbering while their patient is dying—occidit qui non servat." He considers *ambra* a good analeptic, but in larger doses than are ordinarily given. "Thirty grains must be given according to Boswell, before the nerves and blood-vessels are agreeably excited; smaller doses of the remedy in solution probably suffice."

In 1795, in cases of fever in which *cinchona* aggravated, he gave with good results powdered *ignatia* "in large doses: to children three-quarters of a year to three years old a half to two-thirds of a grain; to four to six years old children, one to one and a half grains; to seven to ten years old children, two to three grains every twelve hours."

About the same time in an "epidemic fever," which he describes minutely, he gave adults fifteen to sixteen grains of camphor in the twenty-four hours, "but I soon found that I must give thirty grains to weak, and forty grains to strong subjects in twenty-four hours if I wished to produce rapid amelioration." In more than 100 cases he says he only met with one in which this dose of camphor produced disagreeable effects, and these were removed by the administration of half a grain of opium.‡ In 1798 (*Edinb. Disp.*, II. 362), he recommended *sarsaparilla* to be given in "large doses of a good, strong decoction."

These few examples of the doses given by Hahnemann, selected from a great number of observations and detailed clinical records, will suffice to show that Hahnemann at first gave quite as large doses as most, and in some instances even larger.

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 290, note.

† *Apothekerlexicon*, I., p. 158.

‡ *Hufeland's Journal*, V., St. 1, 1797.

From this time forth his doses become gradually smaller, but not uniformly so with all drugs. In 1800 (*Arsneischats*, p. 25), he agrees with Bell's opinion that a more powerful action on the system is obtained in syphilis, if an equal quantity of mercury is given in a shorter time than when employed for six months as an "alterative." Mercury in syphilis is the only instance after 1799 in which he recommends stronger doses.

If we examine his prescriptions more narrowly, we see that, apart from his laudable endeavours to attain to simplicity of treatment, he often, especially in the case of powerful drugs, did not give successive large doses for a considerable time, but began with small ones and gradually increased them up to the point of slight toxic action, and then discontinued and waited the results. In these cases the dose was not repeated till the action of the previous doses was exhausted. In this we see the practical therapeutist who knew what he was aiming at, the zealous, careful observer, the conscientious physician. Even in chronic diseases in which it was the common practice to give powerful drugs not previously carefully proved upon the sensitive organism, and to continue to give them for weeks and months, he frequently only gave three or four doses, and then observed the changes effected by them in the diseased organism, and noted accurately the duration of their action. This practice was peculiar to him, and distinguished him from all his colleagues, before and of his time.

While, on the one hand, he was in favour of vigorous treatment, we see that he very soon, on the other hand, began to employ some remedies in small doses, and gradually increased the number of these remedies, though at first he did not raise the smallness of the dose to a general therapeutical principle. He first only accumulated experiences and carefully conducted observations. These labours remind us of his chemical researches, in which it was his constant endeavour to ascertain the limits of the action of substances.

He advises caution in the use of drugs in various places,

for example, in Cullen (II., 265): "Though I have above remarked that I thought the smallness of my doses was the cause of the unfortunate result, this must not induce beginners to give unusually large doses of opium in such cases." Further on (II., 496) he warns us against Cullen's practice, who "was firmly convinced that mercury acts against syphilis by increasing the amount of the evacuations, whereby the poison is removed from the body," and his consequent recommendation of "the long-continued and ample administration of mercury." He repeats this warning in Monro (I. 335), and in the *Edinburgh Dispensatory* (I., 440). His employment of what was considered in those days an unusually small dose, is seen as early as 1787 (*Kennzeichen der Güte, &c.*, p. 223), with regard to arsenic, which he recommends as a good external application in "indolent ulcers," in a solution containing one part in 30,000 of water. Glauber salt "in small doses is a diuretic, the merits of which have not yet been sufficiently appreciated." (*ib.*, p. 279)

In 1790 (Cullen, II., 289), in a woman seventy-six years old, he rapidly cured "a violent vomiting uncomplicated with indigestion, probably caused by a chill," by means of a piece of linen rag soaked in laudanum laid on the pit of the stomach.

In 1791 (Monro, II., 326), he recommended to commence giving narcotic vegetable medicines "invariably in very small doses."

In 1793 he speaks of the employment of arsenic, which was then occasionally given in doses of half to one grain with disastrous results, so that Hufeland, in 1796, contended against its employment at all in medicine, and almost all the physicians of the day agreed with him. As early as 1787, Hahnemann had written:—"For several centuries timid attempts have been made to employ its powerful action in medicine." He then details his method of treating ulcers, and continues: "I will not speak

* *Kennzeichen der Güte, &c.*, p. 223; comp. also his work on *Arsenical Poisoning*, 1786, p. 38.

of the attempts to cure ague with it, for fear lest a disastrous abuse of it should ensue." So the therapeutic use of arsenic lay under a ban from which Hahnemann released it for ever. In 1793 (*Apothekerlexicon*, Part I.) he recommended a dose of one-tenth to one eighth gr. of arsenic instead of the usual dose of three to five times that quantity. "In future times, when we may expect physicians to be more conscientious, clear-sighted and circumspect, this extremely violent poison will be converted into an extremely useful remedy for the most desperate ailments of suffering humanity."

In the treatise from which we have several times quoted, *On a new principle, &c.*, in Hufeland's *Journal*, 1796, p. 434,* he advises the administration of the drug selected according to his therapeutic principle only in a dose just strong enough to produce a scarcely perceptible indication of the expected artificial malady. He says of belladonna† that its action lasts 12, 24 to 48 hours. "The dose should therefore not be repeated till the lapse of two days." Opium in certain cases should only be given every twelve to twenty-four hours, arsenic seldom, every two days, in doses of one-tenth to, at the outside, one-fifth of a grain, in hectic fever only one-twelfth grain; the duration of the action of aconite is seven to eight hours in certain cases; camphor should only be given every thirty-six to forty-eight hours, veratrum album every five to ten hours, agaricus musc. twelve to sixteen hours. "Rhubarb is efficacious even in the smallest doses in certain cases of diarrhoea."

In 1797 (*Edinburgh Disp.* I., 239) he recommends belladonna half a grain in two days for adults, and considers "one to two grains of good squills a full dose in most cases," in contrast to the *Edinburgh Disp.* (I. 519), which prescribes four to ten grains, mixed with twice that quantity of saltpetre. In the same place stramonium is recommended in doses of ten grains in "insanity." Hahnemann thereupon remarks: "The varieties of insanity are very

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 312, note.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 322.

numerous, so also are its remedies. This remedy is only useful in some cases, but ten grains is much too large a quantity to give of a good extract." (I. 541)

In 1798 he insists upon nitrate of silver being given internally only in solution and very dilute. The *Edin. Disp.*, on the contrary, quotes the authority of Boerhaave for its administration in doses of two grains, in pills composed of bread crumbs and sugar (II. 230). It further speaks of the drugs which will destroy the poisonous qualities of opium without interfering with its medicinal action. Hahnemann : " If we wish to deprive strong drugs of their noxiousness, we must only employ them in suitable cases and in the proper dose. This is their great corrigens, and there is no other besides this."

In 1799 in the *Apothekerlexicon* he expresses the opinion that sabina does good service in certain conditions even " in very small doses." Hyoscyamus was efficacious in certain accurately described morbid conditions " in very small doses of one-sixtieth to one-thirtieth of a grain of the extract prepared according to my method and given in solution." One-hundredth and even one-thousandth part of a grain of the inspissated juice of stramonium, if it was of good quality, usually sufficed. With regard to veratrum album, he says that the ancients performed grand treatments with it, but that the moderns avoided it on account of its dangerous effects ; the truth lay between the two, for this drug given in doses one thousand times smaller than those in which it was administered by the ancients, is one of the most valuable remedies.

In 1800, in the *Arsneischatz* (p. 56), he gives rhubarb in one-third to one-fourth of a grain in the form of tincture. The English author speaks of an infusion of a drachm of digitalis in half a pound of water, a tablespoonful to be taken two or three times a day. Hahnemann : " This is too venturesome. As the duration of the action of digitalis is at least two to three days, we should not repeat the dose before the lapse of three days. If we give the same dose every eight hours for three days the action of the digitalis will have become nine times as dangerous. If

its action is of longer duration, as my experience leads me to believe, the danger will increase in a greater degree with each fresh administration." (*ib.*, S. 125)

When a teaspoonful of tincture of helleborus niger twice a day is recommended, Hahnemann remarks: "This enormous dose should assuredly be diminished to a twentieth part. Two drops of the strong properly prepared tincture of black hellebore are enough to act powerfully on an adult, and will do all that is possible to be done in cases where the tincture is indicated, and if it is not indicated so large a dose will cause irreparable damage." (*ib.*, p. 169)

The author recommends an electuary containing cinchona bark. "An electuary is one of the most inefficacious and disagreeable forms in which cinchona can be administered," says Hahnemann. "We should not seek to introduce the greatest possible number of drugs into the stomach, but should rather bring them in the most soluble and efficacious form possible in contact with the nerves of the stomach and intestines; then a very small quantity will be found necessary." (*ib.*, S. 197)

The English author recommends pills of sugar of lead and opium; we may go up as high as one and a half grain of lead, and "some patients" may even be given one grain or one and a half to begin with; "it is, however, best to begin with the smaller dose." Hahnemann: "How undecided is the author in a matter of so much importance! Sometimes we can begin at once with one and a half grain; sometimes it is better to commence with the smallest dose. Indeed, it would be much safer never to give this powerful metal either in powder or in pill, but always in solution; neither should we ever administer it in the form of sugar of lead, for it is at once precipitated in the stomach. Chloride of lead dissolved in 100 parts of boiling water is better, as it is not precipitated by muriatic or carbonic acid. We shall find that one or two drops of this for a dose will do all that can be expected from lead preparations. If they are not indicated, of what use is the

empirical administration of such large doses as are here recommended? They must do harm!" (*ib.*, p. 217)

Ammoniaco-sulphate of copper is recommended in the form of pills, at first one, to be increased to "as much as the stomach will tolerate." Hahnemann: "The writer of this, is convinced that we should never venture to introduce so powerful a metal into the stomach unless in the dry form, for if given in solution as sulphate of copper it will almost instantaneously affect the whole nervous system in a dose 100 times smaller than the pills here advised." (*ib.*, p. 259)

Apropos of another prescription (three drachms of simaruba bark "if the stomach will tolerate it"), he says: "Must the doses administered by physicians be so large that they are almost on the point of being rejected when taken? Such veterinary practice applied to human beings, such crude and coarse methods of treating the delicate human organism, prove the degraded state of medical practice. The proper drug will be found efficacious in incredibly small quantities without causing violent commotion." (*ib.*, p. 279)

In syphilitic periostitis, half a pound daily of the following preparation is to be drunk: half an ounce of daphne mezereum boiled with six pounds of water down to four pounds. The author of this prescription even prefers a stronger dose. Hahnemann: "And this dose is already six times too large. Do not, please, let us each prescribe according to our own pleasure, but let us first fairly consult nature and experience. We must, of course, not use the bark of the root which has been kept a number of years in coarse powder; but how can the medical man bother himself about everything? how can he know everything? It is quite enough that he leaves this to the apothecary, who leaves it to his dispenser, to his apprentice, or to his pounder—it is quite enough that he leaves it to the tender conscience of one of these hired menials." (p. 321)

Apropos of pills of conium extract, &c., Hahnemann: "We must not blame the stomach; the fault is with the physician, who is ignorant that a solution of the inspissated juice, in doses one hundred times smaller ought to be given,

and this does as much as these many hundred times less powerful pills." (p. 371) Further on we read: "Our author does not seem to know what an incredibly small quantity of squills is able to produce remarkably good effects."

Hahnemann has two notes, with regard to the dose of arsenic: "Two drops of Fowler's solution contain about one-sixtieth grain of arsenic, and therefore twenty drops one-sixth grain, in every case much too large a dose for old or young, especially as it is recommended to be repeated two or three times in twenty-four hours, which multiplied experience will not allow me to advise." (p. 393) And further, it having been remarked that arsenic, as a remedy for intermittent fever, is worse than the disease, Hahnemann: "Perhaps so, in the rough hands of the ordinary physician. Baker is quite right there. Apart from this, however, the unqualified recommendation of arsenic in undefined intermittent fevers is just as wrong as its unqualified condemnation. Even *a priori*, one may be thoroughly convinced that a powerful substance which can be diminished in solution to every variety of dose, might be the most suitable, most innocuous remedy in certain well-defined morbid conditions. Our physicians of to-day, however, will not ascertain these conditions and give the ten-millionth part of a drug, therefore arsenic should not be used by our contemporaries." (*ib.*, p. 396)

Thus, in the course of years, the number of drugs which he had proved continually increased, and the results of the zealous and careful researches of our genial investigator forced upon him more and more the conviction that the doses hitherto accepted as the normal ones, were much too large. History records no instance, books give no example of a physician ever having attempted to determine the question of the suitable dose with such zealous endeavour as the clear-sighted, indefatigable and thoughtful Hahnemann.

He remarked from his own experience that those drugs which were selected according to his principle, consequently in a specific relation to the affected parts, were therefore

calculated to influence them in a special degree, and sometimes seemed even to act in very small doses more strongly than was desirable. He, therefore, proceeded still further in the diminution of the dose. Here, however, a question of the greatest importance arises: How did he set about it? Did he take, say, the ten-millionth part of a grain on the point of a needle and deposit it on the tongue of his patient? Did he, with some kind of instrument, re-divide this particle into a hundred parts and take a single one of them as the dose to be administered?

His method was as follows: He took one part of a drug and mixed it intimately with a certain quantity of a suitable vehicle, as sugar of milk, water or alcohol. Of this preparation he took a fraction and mixed it, by careful trituration or succussion, with a new quantity of sugar of milk, alcohol, &c. Of this preparation, he again triturated or succussed a part with the suitable vehicle, &c.

In the year 1801,* he recommends tincture of opium in certain cerebral symptoms in scarlet fever, and directs that this should be prepared in the following way: One part of this tincture is shaken up with 500 parts of alcohol, and a drop of this intimately mixed with 500 drops of alcohol. The patient is to take drop doses of this preparation. We may as well here state that Hahnemann later regulated this method systematically by triturating or succussing one part of the drug with ninety-nine parts of sugar of milk or alcohol; of this preparation he again took one part and mixed it with ninety-nine of the vehicle, and so on. These were called the first, second and third trituration or dilution respectively, or as he termed it afterwards "potency."

He did not use medicines prepared in this way for the same purposes as other physicians. He did not advocate their administration to produce emesis, purgation, or narcosis; neither did he employ them to "cleanse the blood of acridities," or to "combine with the excess of oxygen present in inflammatory blood." He did not aim at "cutting the phlegm," "resolving obstructions," "softening indura-

* *Cure and prevention of scarlet fever.* Lesser Writings, p. 432.

tions," or destroying parasites. He had discovered that with medicines, selected according to his rule and which therefore were not meant to effect a revolution in the body, such preparations influenced favourably the curative process. At first he himself was astounded at his discovery which he speaks of as "unheard of," and "incredible." He was therefore, all the more anxious to make sure of his ground as he proceeded, and was not only able to confirm, but even to extend his remarkable discovery. In the first years of this discovery he dwelt emphatically on the *weight* of the drug contained in his preparations, and recounted to the astonished world the results obtained by a millionth, billionth, &c., part of a grain of medicine.

In 1801, Hahnemann recommended belladonna in scarlet fever, in doses corresponding to the third or fourth dilution, and chamomilla in the same way in certain conditions.*

In 1805, in his *Medicine of Experience*, he says :

None but the careful observer can have any idea of the height to which the sensitiveness of the human body to medicines is increased in disease. It transcends all belief when the disease has attained a great intensity.....

On the other hand it is as true as it is wonderful, that even the most robust individuals when affected by a chronic disease, notwithstanding their corporeal strength.....yet as soon as the medicinal substance positively appropriate to their chronic disease is administered to them, they experience from the smallest possible dose as great an impression as if they were infants at the breast.†

In the year 1806, he wrote in Hufeland's *Journal* (St. 3., p. 40), an article entitled : *What are poisons? What are medicines?* ‡ (For the proper comprehension of this article it must be explained that Hahnemann had been reproached by Hecker in 1796 and others for using as medicines dangerous poisons such as the narcotics introduced by Störck, and therefore the public should be warned against employing him, as we shall see more particularly when we come to the chapter on the "opposition to homœopathy." As we know,

* *Cure and prevention of scarlet fever.* *Lesser Writings*, p. 442.

† *Lesser Writings*, pp. 528, 529.

‡ Trans. in *Brit. Jour. of Hom.*, xlii., p. 222.

Störck introduced into medical practice, aconite, belladonna, hyoscyamus, colchicum, stramonium, conium and pulsatilla in the sixtieth year of the last century, and afterwards found in Hahnemann his most active supporter. In 1810, an author writes in Hufeland's *Journal* (St. 9, p. 80), "The practices of Störck, Hahnemann and others have the ill-repute of being mere hazardous experiments."

Hahnemann thereupon writes:—

Has the Creator ever laid it down as a law that a *scruple* or a *grain* should be considered the smallest and most appropriate dose for all medicines, even the most powerful? Has He not bestowed on us means and knowledge whereby we may diminish the more and most powerful substances into small and the very smallest doses and administer them in the tenth of a grain, the more powerful in the hundredth, the thousandth of a grain, the most powerful in the millionth, billionth, aye, even the trillionth, quadrillionth and quintillionth of a grain? Who prevents us doing this and regulating our doses thus (wisely) according to the strength of the different medicines? The circumstance that medicines are only suitable remedies for the human body in different doses, can furnish the sensible man with no excuse for branding the more powerful drugs, that is to say those that can only be used in the smaller doses, with the popular name of poison, and therefore for spurning these great gifts of God, the very remedies which are indispensable for the cure of many of the most serious diseases. But as we can *diminish* the doses of medicines when they are of the more powerful kind to any desired fraction of a grain, indeed to the very smallest fraction, just as easily as we can *increase* the doses of medicines of the weaker sort to more than a grain, a scruple, a drachm, what hinders us from according at least as much respect to those more powerful medicines as we do to the less powerful ones? Thus we shall get rid of the disgrace of having so long echoed the common folk in their denunciations as poisons of the most powerful instruments for preserving health and life, and of having so long deprived ourselves and others of their beneficial use.

I confess I have often felt deeply grieved at reading the hard words applied by many so-called physicians to the valuable labours of Baron Anton von Störck: "we protest against this poisoning practice." Was not this praiseworthy attempt to furnish us with remedies which we did not possess, and which could never be replaced by other substances, was not this philanthropic, highly successful, heroic attempt worthy of a triple civic crown, of a splendid monument to his honour? He struck out the path and we *must* thank him—by making use of his gifts, by imitating him, but (as nothing is perfect at a first

attempt) with more cautious doses and a more careful selection of the cases of disease for which these powerful plants are suited.....

No sensible man who can lay claim to the character of a scientific unprejudiced physician should ever again so far forget himself as to brand with the name of poison substances whose power to alter the human organism is notorious, and whose medicinal power consequently is beyond doubt, and by so doing prevent many blessings and set his own miserable ignorance above these medicinal powers.

Where the common folk think they see only objects of horror, there the wise man sees objects of the deepest veneration and makes use of them with thankfulness to the Eternal Source of love.

Sapere aude !

This is the first time he makes use of the proud motto which he so appropriately chose.

Subsequently Hahnemann discovered that the action of a drug was not proportional to its quantity, that, e.g., twice or three times the quantity did not produce twice or three times the effect ; *the diminution of the action of the drug was not proportionate to the diminution of its quantity.* Further, he found that with the above mentioned mode of preparation the efficacy of many drugs, instead of diminishing, increased ; that medicines so prepared gave results which could not be obtained with the crude substances. Also the astounding fact became evident that medicines could be so diluted that neither physics nor chemistry could discover any medicinal matter in them, and yet they possessed great healing power. Highly poisonous substances could thus be converted into beneficent and innocuous remedies, and substances which were easily decomposed, and therefore tending to become inefficacious, could be converted into a form in which they were not liable to decomposition, and thereby became powerful remedial agents in the hands of a skilful physician.

This is Hahnemann's greatest discovery, one of the most momentous discoveries ever brought to light by human research. By this discovery alone he became one of the greatest benefactors of the human species ; it must inevitably work a complete revolution in the science of therapeutics, and will make its way for the weal of suffering humanity in spite of the keen opposition of university faculties and their unreflecting followers.

No doubt in time the possibility of the action of such medicinal preparations will be explained by natural science.

Hahnemann's attitude towards the sciences auxiliary to medicine and his conception of disease.

That Hahnemann was not a contemner of natural science and chemistry he has sufficiently proved; he, in fact, overtopped all his contemporaries in his knowledge of these sciences, as is completely proved by his own writings, without appealing to Hufeland's testimony, who considered him the best chemist among the physicians of his day. He was not slow to utilize these auxiliaries in the treatment of disease, as is seen in several places in his writings; he even instituted experiments on this subject as his article *On Bile and Biliary Calculi*,* which we have already quoted, shows. He took out the liver and gall-bladder of a man, who had just been shot, and ascertained the action of various reagents on the bile in order to decide whether these reagents could be usefully employed in affections of the liver. His attempts to utilize the teachings of the allied sciences in disease very soon convinced him of the uselessness of efforts in this direction; scientific investigation had found no firm foundation to work upon, and assumptions and speculations overshadowed real knowledge. It is important to enquire: what was his opinion concerning the influence of natural science and chemistry on the development of medicine? On this point he gives the following answer in Hufeland's *Journal*:†—

"We must go still higher," insists a celebrated teacher of dynamology,‡ who has been reared on the ethereal milk of critical philosophy, "we must mount up to the original source of diseases, the altered com-

* Crell's *Chem. Annalen*, 1788, Vol. II., St. 10.

† 1801, xi. St. 4. *Lesser Writings*, p. 615.

‡ Reil seems to be alluded to here. Comp. his *Erkenntniss und Kur der Fieber*, Halle und Berlin, 5 vols. 1799-1815; also his *Archiv für Physiologie*, Halle, 1796-1815.

position and form of matter." This ontological maxim, however near to the truth it may appear *a priori* to the thinker conversant with natural science in general, and with the probable arrangement of our organism, is entirely useless to the practitioner ; it cannot be applied to the treatment of individual diseases. In like manner what Bruce says of the remotest source of the Nile is of no practical utility at its Delta. Still this teacher of natural science has approximated much more closely than we might have expected to what pure experience teaches, in his special views relative to diseases and particular fevers, and given much less scope to mere probabilities than his dogmatical and credulous predecessors. Though a love of system guides all his steps, he always honestly points out where his deductions run counter to the maxims of experience, and has a wise respect for the latter. The medical thinker may educate himself under him, but when he is at the sick-bed, let him not forget that these views are mere individual ideas, mere hints, and that from them no remedial means can be deduced.

Leaving out of sight the unfortunate comparison with the Nile, Hahnemann has most ably criticised Reil's teachings in these few words. His practical sense, in strong contrast with the speculative spirit of almost all his contemporaries, recognised the value of Reil's inductive method, but at the same time saw how his steps were hampered by natural philosophy. Very few of his contemporaries arrived at so accurate an estimate of Reil as Hahnemann. On the other hand he pronounced : "That the practical physician can make no use of this knowledge.....It will not lead to the discovery of a single remedy." He was right with regard to those days ; but was he so with regard to the future ? This is a question which will determine the whole direction of investigation, the basis of all medicine. We will allow Hahnemann to answer in his own words, and describe the fundamental lines of his efforts. This he does in the *Organon* (2nd edition, preface). We must premise that "experience" is equivalent to investigation, "sciences of experience" are the same as what are now called the "inductive sciences." What we call "experience" to-day used to be called "empiricism." We must at the same time recall to mind the various medical systems, all of which were founded on the imaginings of physicians and the teachings of natural philosophy then in its most flourishing state.

Physicians are my fellow-creatures ; I have no feeling against them personally. The medical art is my subject. We must ascertain whether therapeutics as hitherto taught, has been evolved out of physicians' heads, out of illusion and caprice, or is derived from nature. If it is only the achievement of speculative refinements, arbitrary axioms, traditional observance and dogmatic assumptions deduced from dubious appearances, it is, and must remain a nullity, even though it may date from thousands of years back and show title-deeds conferred on it by all the emperors and kings that ever lived.

True medicine is from its very nature a pure science of experience, and should therefore rest only upon pure facts, and the sensible phenomena belonging to its sphere of action, for all the subjects with which it is concerned are distinctly and sufficiently indicated to its sensible appreciation by experience ; knowledge of the disease to be treated and of the action of drugs and also the mode in which the ascertained actions of medicines are to be used in curing diseases, can only be learnt by experience ; its subjects can only be derived from pure experience and observation, and our science should not venture a single step beyond the sphere of pure carefully observed experience and experiment if it wishes to escape degenerating into mere jugglery and nullity.

The following few irrefragable considerations will show that the whole art of medicine up to this date, though millions of well-intentioned physicians have adhered to it through two and a half thousand years for want of a better, is nevertheless in all its parts an utterly irrational and useless art. The intellect alone can (*a priori*) evolve from itself alone no conception of the essential nature of things, of cause and effect ; there must always be sensible perceptions for every one of its dicta concerning the actual. Facts and experience must be at the root of all revelations of truth. If we take a single step outside the region of observation we shall find ourselves in the infinite kingdom of fantasy and of arbitrary assumptions, the parent of disastrous delusion and of absolute nothingness.

In the real sciences of experience, in physics, chemistry and therapeutics, speculative reason therefore can have no voice ; for if it act alone, thereby becoming the victim to empty assumption and imagination, it can only produce fantastic hypotheses, which in millions of cases, are, and from their very nature must be, only delusions and falsities.

Such were the magnificent conjuring games of so-called theoretical medicine, in which *a priori* conceptions and assumptions had erected many imposing scholastic edifices which only showed what their architects imagined about things they could know nothing of, and which were not necessary for the art of healing.

Medical practice found nothing of any use to it in these sublime systems which soared a long way above all experience. It went boldly its own way at the sick-bed, according to the traditional instructions

of its text-books, treating diseases as they had been hitherto treated by practical authorities, heedless, like its predecessors, of the teachings of experience, indifferent about having any real grounds for its practices, quite content with that key to routine treatment—the prescription manual.

A sound, unbiased judgment of this monstrosity easily discerns that what has hitherto been called the art of medicine was only a pseudo-scientific jumble, which, like Gellert's hat in the fable, underwent periodical revolutions, in consonance with the fashion of the day, but in its essential character of a system of treatment always remained the same blind irrational procedure. There was no such thing as a true healing art founded on experience ; everything in traditional medicine was only artifice and imagination in the guise of probability, but altogether opposed to nature and experience.

The disease to be treated was arbitrarily excogitated by pathology. The number, form and kind of diseases there ought to be, were dogmatically fixed ; just consider ! all the diseases which are produced by nature in infinite variety in human beings under thousands of different conditions and in multifarious forms that can never be foreseen are cut down by the pathologist into a mere handful of nosological names.

Diseases were with superfine subtlety defined *a priori*, and hypothetical substrata attributed to them that had no foundation in experience (how, indeed, could distinct, pure experience lend any support to such fantastic dreams ?) ; no ! on the contrary, reliance was placed upon a supposed insight into the inner nature of things and the invisible vital processes (which, however, is denied to mortals). Also in order to establish something definite in respect to remedies, they inferred the properties of the individual drugs of the *materia medica* from their physical and chemical and other extraneous qualities, also from their smell, taste and appearance, and especially from their very impure experience at the sick-bed, where in the tumult of morbid symptoms only composite prescriptions were used in imperfectly described cases of disease ; the dynamic spiritual power to alter the health of human beings, invisibly hidden in the inner essence of medicines, and never revealed in a pure and true manner save when tested on the healthy individual, were arbitrarily assumed without the medicines having ever been interrogated in this way.

What had been excogitated, imagined and guessed about medicines, therapeutics now taught how to apply to the assumed fundamental cause of disease, or to single symptoms of it, on the principle of contraries (*contraria contrariis*), according to the doctrine of the hypothesis-framer, Galen, and contrary to nature, and this doctrine was considered amply proved if only sufficiently illustrious authorities could be quoted in favour of it.

All these unnatural dicta of man, interwoven with all manner of illogical and false conclusions were forced into agreement with their

artificial divisions, subdivisions and tabulations, and behold ! that elaborate house of cards, the art of medicine, was the result ; a thing altogether opposed to nature and experience, a tissue of guesses and assumptions, a 'mere nullity, a pitiful self-delusion calculated to endanger men's lives by its blind, unsuitable treatment, which has been incessantly ridiculed by the wisest men of all ages and which labours under the curse that it is not what it pretends to be and cannot perform what it promises !

Sober, unprejudiced reflection will convince us that correct views respecting every case of disease to be treated, the determination of the true properties of drugs, their adaptation to every morbid condition and their appropriate dose—in short, the whole true healing art should never be the work of self-satisfied ratiocination and fallacious suppositions, but that its requirements, the materials as well as the rules for its practice, are to be diligently sought in visible nature, in careful, honest observations and pure experimentation, and in these alone, without the adulterating admixture of arbitrary dogmas. Only thus shall we be acting in a manner worthy of our object—the preservation of the precious lives of our fellow-men.

I leave it to others to decide whether my conscientious endeavours in this direction have been successful in discovering the true healing art.

The great difference between Hahnemann and the later natural-historical school is expressed by himself in one small word of three letters : "and." Hahnemann speaks of "chemistry, physics *and* medical science;" they said : medical science is applied chemistry and physics, and founded medicine on these two sciences.

Hahnemann stood in still greater contrast to this school by his "dynamism." In the first decades of his work and research, starting from purely material conceptions, he gradually arrived at dynamic views, and indeed, these occurred to him as a consequence of his pharmaceutical doctrine.

Chemical and physical morbid changes were in his opinion dependent upon the morbid modification of the vital force. "Diseases must be considered as dynamic derangements of the vital character of our organism, they must therefore be cured by agents capable of causing dynamic change." Further : "Diseases depend upon no

substance, no acridity, that is upon no matencies morbi, but they are solely spiritual derangements of the spiritual vital force which animates the human body."* Again : "Therefore a disease (which does not come within the province of operative surgery) considered as a thing separate from the living whole, from the organism and its vivifying vital force and hidden in the interior, be it of ever so subtle a character, is an absurdity."†

Force apart from matter is inconceivable. The vital force inhabiting the organism, must therefore be united with a substance though no doubt the latter is in a state of infinitely minute division.

In the second decade of this century a solution of the problem was enunciated by the medical investigators of France, which twenty years later was gradually re-echoed in Germany. "We must localize diseases," look for their seat! Hahnemann considered that most diseases were general affections. So the general current of opinion, to which we owe much, ran contrary to his views.

But to complete this separation of his views from the general bias of opinion, his *Chronic Diseases, their Peculiar Nature and Homœopathic Treatment*, appeared in 1828. Hahnemann had for years, as he says, been incessantly occupied with the endeavour to ascertain the cause of the heredity of diseases, why one person was subject to a skin complaint, another to pulmonary, nervous, dyspeptic, &c., disease, and why chronic diseases so frequently obstinately resisted the apparently best selected remedies. The habits of life give no satisfactory explanation. The empty expressions "it is inherited," "it is the predisposition to disease," with which the majority of physicians were, and still are satisfied, did not content his inquiring mind. He wished to substitute something reliable in their place; and this was certainly a praiseworthy endeavour. We have already seen what was the opinion then prevalent with regard to the "itch" and its consequences. "Itch" was a

* *Organon*, Preface, p. x. (Dudgeon's translation).

† *Ib.*, § 13.

diagnosis which covered many other affections besides the one now known as "scabies" or "itch." Hahnemann was very fond of the history of medicine and liked to study medical authors. In the course of these studies he was struck with the fact that the most frequent cause of chronic diseases was "psora," the "itch dyscrasia," and he fills thirteen pages with quotations supporting this view from the following authors: Fr. Hoffmann, Morgagni, J. Fr. Gmelin, Hundertmark, L. Ch. Juncker, Sauvages, E. Hagendorf, Lentilius, Reil and many others, who had observed that almost all chronic diseases were sequelæ of "psora." He was therefore gradually forced to the conclusion that in cutaneous diseases there was a "something" which was capable of producing other diseases, and which, transmitted from generation to generation, was the remote cause of many diseases. Besides this "psora" there were other fundamental causes, viz., "sycosis," the phenomena connected with gonorrhœa, and "syphilis." Though there may have been some substratum of truth in these views, Hahnemann, nevertheless, far transcended the limits of probability and fell into a great error.

Hahnemann soon found the most vehement opposition from his own followers. Griesselich writes as follows, in January, 1836: * "I have questioned all the homœopaths I know, whether they consider psora such a fundamental cause of disease, and I must confess that I cannot remember a single one who thought so." The Central Congress of Homœopathists in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1837, under the presidency of Dr. Rau, rejected this doctrine. † But the efficacy of Hahnemann's so-called anti-psoric remedies was not therefore denied.

Evidently Hahnemann—as we have repeatedly said—together with his great achievements had also his weaknesses like every other human being and all geniuses.

* *Frescogemälde*, I., p. 92.

† Schmidt's *Jahrbücher* XVII., p. 383.

Such reformers, endowed with unusual strength, have erratically formed heads and rugged characters, and whoever attacks their asperities with the intention of destroying them, may expect the fate which befell the gnat in the fable who thought it had killed a sleeping lion, but while it was singing its song of victory, he rose up and went for his tiny adversary.

Hahnemann and the Apothecaries.

Hahnemann's labours for the improvement of pharmacy show his high estimation of this branch of knowledge, and how important it appeared to him that the physician should have the best possible curative instruments at command. Thus he writes in the *Apotheker-lexicon* (I. 52, 53): "Simple drugs collected at the proper seasons in all their power, and simple preparations made and preserved in the highest degree of perfection, are the greatest ornaments of a good drug store; it is necessary and quite fair to ask the public to pay the full price for such drugs; but to sell stale, powerless or even spurious drugs and preparations badly made, or mayhap converted into poisons in the process of preparation, at even half-price, is to act the usurer's part, in many cases to deprive the suffering of relief, and in some cases even to rob and murder him—a shameful, criminal action." In Trommsdorff's *Journal der Pharmacie*,* this passage is cited as "true, well-expressed and laudable."

What was the state of the drug stores in those days? In the preface to *Kennzeichen der Güte und Verfälschung der Arzneimittel*, Hahnemann quotes a work of Gilbert's which draws a vivid picture of the wholesale adulterations of drugs which was at that time practised in the great seats of commerce, such as Marseilles, and Hahnemann adds that the Dutch were not much better for they competed with one another in supplying adulterated drugs in order to bring down their price. "German importers," says

* 1795, III., pp. 62 and 63.

Hahnemann, "must be armed with invincible conscientiousness, principles scarcely compatible with the commercial spirit, if they are to resist the flattering cheapness of these wares which they buy on trust. They know that their customers, the shop-keepers and small apothecaries, have to deal with an indiscriminating public who must take their wares over the counter without examination, if they only bear the name of the true article ; and the custom-house authorities are convinced of their genuineness if only the full duty is paid." (According to Hahnemann a few excellent establishments in Prussia and Russia were praiseworthy exceptions to this mode of trading).

Thus the planters of the East and West Indies, in conjunction with the Dutch manufacturers, through a ring of greedy tradesmen united only by the craving for high profits, have the welfare of Europe at their mercy ; and as to the articles they provide us with, after they have passed through the last hand, we are at a loss which to admire most, their enhanced prices or the skill displayed in their adulterations.....

If we really wish to obtain genuine drugs, the poor apothecary should not be compelled by elaborate pharmacopœias to keep all manner of crude and composite medicines, which not even Galen, Myrepsus and Zwölfer could preserve from fermentation, mould and vermin. His ability should be tested by competent men, the wholesale dealer in drugs should surpass his customers the apothecaries if possible in uprightness, knowledge of his wares and chemical science ; the adulterator of drugs should be punished even more severely than the coiner ; the inspector of drug stores should bring to his task a greater amount of knowledge, and the quack who dispenses his own medicines should be compelled to swallow them himself ; but the man who has the courage and skill to restore to the Fatherland this branch of trade, which was taken from us first by the Venetians and then by the Dutch, should be honoured and rewarded. Certainly there is much to be done before the best medicines can be placed in the hands of the physician, who sometimes wants nothing more to enable him to relieve the sufferings of his fellow creatures but that triflereliable instruments.

As it was thus often impossible even for an honest apothecary to procure good wares, little confidence could be felt in the druggists' shops. In small places especially they were often combined with general goods' shops, and not infrequently in the same room. Frequent complaints

were made of the ignorance of their owners, who were even accused of selling drugs which they knew to be spurious.* If such practices were openly complained of, they must have been of frequent occurrence. If the apothecary went on a journey in order to purchase drugs—and this was necessary in those days—he abandoned the making up of prescriptions and the sale of medicines to his "apprentice," who often knew little or nothing of the art. Even in good, well-supplied neighbourhoods, shops are described where the drugs stood about covered with dust, in no order and in unsuitable vessels.† Professor Trommsdorff who was himself the owner of a well-known drug-store in Erfurt, still in existence, narrates‡ that he found in many shops the evil practice of using cinchona bark and rhubarb root over and over again to make decoctions, and other injurious abuses.

Similar and worse practices were reported and lamented in Crell's *Annalen*.|| "We might reasonably suppose that apothecaries who had kept shops for a number of years would at last become more careful and skilful in their practice, but in vain! they will not be weaned from old ways and routine."

This description is illustrated by a number of examples "whose names could be given if required;" among them we find (besides the above-mentioned conscious adulteration of drugs) the following: "An apothecary once asked me what I paid for boracic acid and saccharic acid, and what they were? Two substances not often asked for, and which I imagine are only known to one in ten. It was a disgrace to any apothecary not to know all about such trifling matters."

Many physicians at that time complained of the unreliable quality of drugs; especially blame-worthy was the mode of preparing the narcotics: aconite, belladonna,

* Crell's *Chem. Annalen*, 1792, I., p. 259.

† *Berlinisches Jahrb. der Pharmacie*, 1795, p. 197.

‡ *Jour. d. Pharmacie*, 1796, III., St. 2, p. 78.

|| 1792, I., p. 257.

conium, hyoscyamus, &c., which were usually only administered in the form of extracts. They differed as much as five or ten times in strength according to the time they were boiled or the way in which they were kept; the most pernicious results sometimes followed their administration, and many medical men did not dare to prescribe them. Scruple and drachm doses of these poisonous substances were sometimes given without injury, if the extract was bad, a fact which could not be known to the physician; on other occasions, the extract happened to be good, and a fatal issue was almost inevitable. Monro (II. 270) writes that he had repeatedly seen an ounce of extract of hyoscyamus given in twenty-four hours. Hahnemann thereupon directs attention to the boiling of the extract, whereby it would be rendered as harmless as extract of lettuce. In another place he warns us (*Arneischatz*, p. 30): "If we wish to spoil myrrh, an active and unknown drug, we in Germany make an extract of it. We do not care and, indeed, cannot estimate how much of the strength of the drug is lost, or how much it is burnt during its preparation. All the better for us—it is now all the more *secundum artem!*"

Hahnemann says (Monro, II., 222) that he has seen extract of aconite which could be given in scruple doses without effect, while three grains of a good preparation would be a very strong dose.

On another occasion he says (Monro, II., 267), that if the extract is prepared by boiling—"and this is the almost universal practice"—it may be taken almost like a food. "The medical man—this is my well-founded opinion—should either make his extracts himself after the aforesaid manner (the Hahnemannian), or see that the apothecary does so."

Hahnemann repeatedly complains of the untrustworthiness of druggists' shops: "I know capital towns in which there is not a single apothecary who knows hemlock" (*ib.*)—"Many drugs are not properly prepared in many druggists' shops" (*Edinb. Disp.* 1, 312)—"We cannot even now count upon the accurate measurement by apothecaries of

such small doses as half to a quarter grain" (*ib.* p. 361.) In another place, he deplores the careless way in which the work is done in many, (*ib.* II., 492) also that his preparation of mercury "is usually so carelessly and imperfectly prepared."*

Further: "How many different roots have druggists used instead of black Christmas rose root (*helleborus niger*), almost every kind except the right one. Ten distinct roots have been introduced into apothecaries' shops under this name, and the helpless practitioner relies upon the officinal extract. *helleb. nigri!* wretched man!"

An author laments the absence of results from the administration of extract of aconite. Hahnemann: "The in-spissated juice was worthless. That is the solution of this constantly recurring mystery."

No single critic has proved the falseness of these strictures upon the pharmaceutists of that time.

Hahnemann, who was theoretically and practically so skilful an expert in the apothecary's art that few equalled or surpassed him, usually gave the patients who entrusted their health to his care, his own medicines, thus trenching on the privileges of the apothecaries.

"How much lower will the servile spirit of the physician bend under the despotism of the monopolising apothecary?" exclaims Hahnemann, when again discussing the unreliability of a preparation. (*Arsneischatz*, p. 160)

There was a time when a medical man who allowed his drugs to be prepared by anyone else was looked down upon. But when the mixing of drugs came more and more into vogue, he could no longer prepare the complicated brews himself, and the apothecaries thereupon gradually came into existence in Germany in the XVth century (in Prague and Nürnberg as early as the XIVth century). The apothecary was, therefore, only a means to an end, and he was only required by those practitioners who would not or could not prepare their own medicines. No one ever thought of compelling the physician to have his medi-

* *Ib.* II., 247 and 371.

cines prepared by a third person. The encroaching guild of apothecaries contrived to have a law passed at the end of the XVIIth and beginning of the XVIIIth Century in Prussia forbidding physicians to dispense their own medicines ; it being expressly added, " that they may not thereby do detriment to the apothecaries."* This did not meet with a proper opposition from physicians, because they had gradually accustomed themselves to abandon the preparation of their instruments of healing to a third person, and had not themselves sufficient time, inclination, or knowledge to collect the drugs, ascertain their purity, and finally to compound the mixtures. This is the cause of the origin of the privileges of apothecaries, who have taken from physicians through their own fault their natural, original, and inherent right of preparing the drugs discovered and introduced by themselves and not by the apothecaries, whereby they might be sure of the purity of the remedies they prescribed.

Hahnemann demanded, in opposition to this unnatural condition, the restoration of their original right, and tried to induce physicians to concern themselves more with the purity of their drugs and reminded them of their ancient rights, and many of them demanded back their rights.

How important was the preparation and dispensing of his medicines by himself is self-evident. Hahnemann would never have made his great discoveries concerning the actions of drugs had he not dispensed his own medicines.

Hahnemann has deserved the gratitude of both the apothecary and the physician for having attacked with a strong arm abuses existing in the druggists' shops, whereby he effected a beneficent reform in this sphere, though his manly intrepid assault has not always been welcomed by the apothecaries.

* The medicinal edicts in question will be found in detail in Sorge's *Dispensirfreiheit der Aerzte*, Berlin, Dümmler, 1877, p. 31; a work that well deserves to be read.

Hahnemann's Writings arranged in the order of their publication.

1777 Translation of Nugent's Essay on Hydrophobia, Leipzig. I. G. Müller. From the Engl. 150 p.

1777 Trans. of Stedman's Physiological Essays and Observations, with plates. Leipzig. I. G. Müller. From the Engl. 134 p.

1777 Trans. of Falconer's Essay on Waters commonly used at Bath. Leipzig bei Hilscher. From the Engl. 2 pts. 355 p. and 439 p.

1777 Trans. of Ball's Modern Practice of Physic. Leipzig 1777 and 1780, with Notes under the name Spohr. From the Engl.

1779 Dissertatio inaugur. medic: Conspectus affectuum spasmodicorum aetiologicalis et therapeuticus. Erlangae 1779. 4. 20 p.

1782 The first small Medical Essays in *Medizinische Beobachtungen* von Krebs, Quedlinburg. 1782 Heft 2.

1783 In the Sammlung der auserlesenen und neuesten Abhandlungen für Wundärzte, Leipzig, Weygand, are several articles by Hahnemann. 1783, 1784, 1787.

1784 Trans. of Demachy's Procédés Chimiques. Leipzig bei Crusius. 2 vols. 302 p. and 396 p. From the French, with additions and plates. 2nd Edit. 1801.

1784 Guide to the Treatment of Old Wounds and Indolent Ulcers. Leipzig bei Crusius. 192 p. (trans. in *Brit. Jour. of Hom.* xlii.)

1785 Trans. of Demachy's L'Art du Distillateur Liquoriste. Leipzig. 2 pts. From the French, with additions. 332 p. and 284 p.

1786 On Arsenical Poisoning; its Treatment and Judicial Detection. Leipzig. Lebrecht Crusius. 276 p.

1787 Trans. of Demachy's L'Art du Vinaigrier. Leipzig bei Crusius. From the French, with Additions and an Appendix. 176 p.

1787 The Signs of the Purity and Adulteration of Drugs, by B. v. d. Sande, Apothecary in Brussels, and Hahnemann. Dresden bei Walther. 350 p.

1787 Prejudice against Coal Fuel, the Way to Improve this Combustible, etc., with 2 plates. Dresden. Walther.

1787 On the Difficulty of Preparing Soda by Potash and Kitchen Salt. Crell's *chem. Annalen*, II. St. 11. Pp. 387—396.

1788 Influence of some kinds of Gases on the Fermentation of Wine, *ib.* I. St. 2. Pp. 141—142.

1788 On the Wine Test for Iron and Lead, *ib.* I. St. 4. Pp. 291—306.

1788 On Bile and Gall-stones, *ib.* II. St. 10. Pp. 296—299.

1788 An Uncommonly Powerful Remedy for Putrefaction, *ib.* II. St. 12. pp. 485—486, trans. into French by Cruet.

1788 Instructions for Surgeons respecting the Venereal Disease. Leipzig bei Crusius XIV. u 292 p. (trans. in *Lesser Writings* 1).

1789 Unsuccessful Experiments with some New Discoveries, *ib.* I. St. 3. pp. 202—207.

1789 Letter to Crell on Baryta, *ib.* II, St. 8. pp. 143—144.

1789 Discovery of a New Constituent in Plumbago, *ib.* II. St. 10. pp. 291—298.

1789 On the Principium adstringens of Plants. Beiträge zu d. *Chem. Annal.* Vol. IV. St. 4, pp. 419—420.

1789 Trans. of the History of Abelard and Heloisa, by Sir J. Barrington. From the Engl. Leipzig. 17 sheets.

1790 Remedy for the Salivation and Destructive Effects of Mercury J. Fr. Blumenbach's *Medic. Bibliothek*, Vol. 3. pp. 543—548.

1790 Smaller Articles on Various Subjects. Crell's *Annal.* I. St. 3. pp. 256—257.

1790 Complete Mode of Preparing the Soluble Mercury, *ib.* II. St. 1. pp. 22—28.

1790 Trans. of Ryan's Inquiry into the Nature, Causes and Cure of Consumption of the Lungs. Leipzig b. Weygand. From the Engl. 164 p.

1790 Trans. of Fabbroni's Dell' arte di fare il Vino ragionamente. Leipzig. 278 p. From the Italian, with Additions.

1790 Trans. of Arth. Young's Annals of Agriculture, &c. Leipzig bei Crusius. 2 vols. From the Engl. 290 p. and 313 p.

1790 Trans. of Cullen's Materia Medica. Leipzig. Schwickert. 2 vols. 468 p. and 672 p. From the Engl., with Notes.

1791 Trans. of Grigg's Advice to the Female Sex in general. Leipzig. Weygand. From the Engl. 285 p.

1791 Trans. of Monro's Materia Medica. Leipzig bei Beer. 2 vols. 480 p. and 472 p. From the Engl., with Notes. 2nd edition, 1794.

1791 Trans. of De la Metherie's Essai analistique sur l'air pure. Leipzig bei Crusius. 2 vols. 450 p. and 598 p. From the French.

1791 Trans. of Rigby's Chem. Observations on Sugar. Dresden bei C. C. Richter. From the Engl., with Notes. 82 p.

1791 Insolubility of some Metals, and their Oxides in Caustic Ammonia. Crell's *Annalen*, II. St. 8. pp. 117—123.

1792 Contributions to the Art of Testing Wine. Scherf's Beiträge zum *Archiv der Medic. Polizei*, Leipzig. Vol. 3.

1792 On the Production of Glauber Salt according to Ballen's Method. Crell's *Annalen*, I. St. 1. pp. 22—33.

1792 Friend of Health. Frankfurt. Fleischer. Pt. 1. 100 p. (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 189).

1793 Apothekerlexicon. Leipzig b. Crusius. Theil 1 (A—E), 280 p.

1793 Something about the Wirtemberg and Hahnemann's Wine Test. Intelligenzblatt der *Allgem. Liter. Zeitung*, No. 79, p. 630.

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1794 On the new Wine Test and the new Liq. probat. fort. Crell's *Annalen*, I. St. 12. pp. 104—111.

1795 On Crusta Lactea. J. Fr. Blumenbach's *Medic. Bibliothek*, Vol. 3. pp. 701—705 (trans. in B. J. of H. xlii.)

1795 Apothekerlexikon (F—K) 244 p.

1795 Friend of Health. Leipzig bei Crusius. Pt. 2, 6 sheets (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 240)

1796 Trans. of J. J. Rousseau sur l'éducation des enfants, under the title Mother's Manual. Leipzig bei Fleischer. From French.

1796 Description of Klockenbring during his Insanity. *Deutsche Monatsschrift*, Februarheft (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 287)

1796 Essay on a New Principle for Ascertaining the Curative Powers of Drugs. Hufeland's *Journal*. Vol. 2. St. 3 and 4. pp. 391—439 and pp. 465—561 (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 295).

1797 Something about the Pulverization of Ignatia Beans. Trommsdorff's *Journal der Pharmacie*, vol. 5. St. 1. pp. 38—40.

1797 Case of Rapidly Cured Colicodynia. Hufeland's *Journ.* Vol. 3. St. 1. pp. 138—147 (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 353).

1797 Are the Obstacles to Certainty and Simplicity in Practical Medicine Insurmountable? *ib.* vol. 4. St. 4. pp. 727—762 (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 358).

1797 Trans. of Taplin's Equerry, or Modern Veterinary Medicine. Pt. 1. Leipzig. From the Engl. 387 p.

1797 Trans. of the New Edinburgh Dispensatory. Leipzig bei G. Fleischer d. Jüngeren, with 3 plates. Pt. 1. 583 p. with Notes.

1798 Trans. of Taplin, Pt. 2. 304 p.

1798 N. Edinburgh Disp. Pt. 2. 628 p.

1798 Apothekerlexikon (L—P) 259 p. with 3 plates.

1798 Antidotes to some Heroic Vegetable Substances. Hufel. *Journ.* Vol. 5. St. 1, pp. 3—21 (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 374)

1798 Some kinds of Continued and Remitting Fevers. Hufel. *Journ.* Bd. 5. St. 1. S. 19—52. (*Lesser Writings*, 382.)

1798 Some Periodical and Hebdomadal Diseases, *ib.* Bd. 5. St. 1. p. 45—59. (*Lesser Writings*, 395.)

1799 Apothekerlexikon (Q—Z) 498 p.

1800 Trans. of Thesaurus Medicaminum, a new collection of medical prescriptions. Leipzig bei G. Fleischer d. J. From the Engl. 412 p. with a preface by the translator and notes signed "Y." (The preface trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 398.)

1800 Trans. of Home's Pract. Observations on the Cure of Strictures of the Urethra by Caustics. Leipzig bei G. Fleischer d. J. 147 p. From the Engl., with Notes.

1801 Cure and Prevention of Scarlet Fever. Gotha bei Becker. 40 p.

1801 Fragmentary Observations on Brown's Elements of Medicine. *Hufeland's Journal*, Vol. 12, St. 2. pp. 52—76. (*Lesser Writings*, 405.)

1801 On the Power of Small Doses of Medicine in General and of Belladonna in particular. *ib.* Vol. 13. St. 2. pp. 153—159. (*Lesser Writings*, 443.)

1801 Observations on the Three Current Methods of Treatment, *ib.* Vol. 11. St. 4. pp. 3—64. (*Lesser Writings*, 592.)

1801 View of Professional Liberality at the Commencement of the 19th Century. *Reichsanzeiger* No. 32. (*Lesser Writings*, 417.)

1803 On the Effects of Coffee. Leipzig bei Steinacker, 56 p. (*Lesser Writings*, 450.)

1803 On a Proposed Remedy for Hydrophobia *Reichsanzeiger*, No. 71. (*Lesser Writings*, 447.)

1805 Aesculapius in the Balance. Leipzig bei Steinacker. 70 p. (*Lesser Writings*, 470.)

1805 Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum positivis sive in sano corpore observatis. Lipsiae, sumtu J. A. Barthii. 2 pts. VIII. and 269 p.—VI. and 470 p.

1806 On Substitutes for Cinchona. *Hufeland's Journal* Vol. 23. St. 4. S. 27—47 (trans. in *B. J. of H.*, xlvi.)

1806 Scarlet Fever and Purpura Miliaris two Quite Distinct Diseases. *ib.* Vol. 24. St. 1. pp. 139—146 (trans. in *B. J. of H.* xlvi.)

1806 What are Poisons? What are Medicines? *ib.* Vol. 24. St. 3. pp. 40—57 (trans. in *B. J. of H.* xlvi.)

1806 Objections to Proposed Substitute for Cinchona and to Succedanea in General. *Reichsanzeiger*, No 57. (*Lesser Writings*, 542.)

1806 Medicine of Experience. *Hufeland's Journ.* Bd. 22. St. 3. p. 5—99. (*Lesser Writings*, 497.)

1806 Trans. of Albrecht v. Haller's *Materia Medica*. Leipzig.

1807 Indications of the Homœopathic Employment of Medicines in Ordinary Practice. *Hufeland's Journ.* Vol. 26. St. 2. pp. 5—43, afterwards in the three first editions of the *Organon* (in Dudgeon's trans. of the *Organon*).

1808 On the Present Want of Foreign Medicines. *Allg. Anzeig. d. Deutschen*, No. 297. (*Lesser Writings*, 551.)

1808 On Substitutes for Foreign Drugs. *ib.* No. 327. (*Lesser Writings*, 574.)

1808 On the Value of the Speculative Systems of Medicine, *ib.* No. 263. (*Lesser Writings*, 556.)

1808 Extract from a Letter to a Physician of high standing on the great Necessity of a Regeneration of Medicine, *ib.* No. 343. (*Lesser Writings*, 581.)

1808 Observations on the Scarlet Fever. *ib.* No. 160. (*Lesser Writings*, 546.)

1808 Reply to a Question about the Prophylactic for Scarlet Fever.
Huf. *Journ.* Vol. 27. St. 4. pp. 153—156. (Trans. in *B. J. of H.* xlii.)

1809 To a Candidate for the Degree of M.D. *Allg. Anz. der Deutschen*, No. 227. (*Lesser Writings*, 625.)

1809 On the Prevailing Fever, *ib.* No. 261. (*Lesser Writings*, 628.)

1809 Signs of the Times in the Ordinary System of Medicine, *ib.* No. 326. (*Lesser Writings*, 640.)

1810 Organon of Rational Medicine. Dresden bei Arnold. 1810.
222 pp.—2. Edit. 1819, with the title: Organon of Medicine,
371 pp.—3. Edit. 1824. XXIV. and 281 pp.—4. Edit. 1829.
XVI. and 307 pp.—5. Edit. 1833. XXII. and 304 pp. (This
last edition trans. by Dudgeon, 1849.)

1811 *Materia Medica Pura*, Pt. I. Dresden 1811. 248 pp.—2. en-
larged Edit. 1823.—3. enlarged Edit. 1830 (trans. by Dudgeon,
1883.)

1812 *Dissertatio historico-medica de Helleborismo Veterum*, quam
defendet auctor Samuel Hahnemann, med. et chirurg. Doctor,
academ. Mogunt. scient. ut societ. physic. med. Erlang. et
societ. reg. oeconom., quae Lipsiae floret, Sodal. honor.
Lipsiae. Tauchnitz. 86 pp. (trans. in *Lesser Writings*, 644.)

1813 Spirit of the New Medical Doctrine. *Allgem. Anz. d. D.*
March. Pp. 626 (afterwards in more complete form in the
second part of the *M. M. P.* (*Lesser Writings*, 696, and in
Dudgeon's trans. of the *M. M. P.*)

1814 Treatment of the Typhus or Hospital Fever at present Pre-
vailing. *Allg. A. d. D.* No. 6. (*Lesser Writings*, 712.)

1816 On the Venereal Disease and its ordinary Improper Treatment,
ib. No. 211. (*Lesser Writings*, 728.)

1816 On the Treatment of Burns, *ib.* No. 156 and 204. (*Lesser Writings*, 716.)

1816 *Materia Medica Pura*. Pt. II. 396 pp.—2nd. Edit. 1824.—3rd.
Edit. 1833.—Pt. III. 288 pp.—2nd. enlarged Edit. 1825
(trans. by Dudgeon, 1883.)

1818 The Same, Pt. IV. 284 pp.—2nd. enlarged Edit. 1825 (trans. by
Dudgeon, 1883.)

1819 The Same, Pt. V. 306 pp.—2nd. enlarged Edit. 1826 (trans. by
Dudgeon, 1883.)

1819 On the Uncharitableness towards Suicides. *Allg. A. d. D.* No.
144. (*Lesser Writings*, 781.)

1820 On the Preparation and Dispensing of Medicines by Hom. Phy-
sicians Themselves. (*Lesser Writings*, 783.)

1821 Treatment of Purpura Miliaris. *Allg. A. d. D.* No. 26. (*Lesser Writings*, 782.)

1821 *Materia Medica Pura*. Pt. VI. 255 pp.—2nd. enlarged Edit.
1826 (trans. by Dudgeon, 1883.)

1825 How may Homœopathy be most certainly eradicated? *Allg. A. d. D.* No. 26. (*Lesser Writings*, 793.)

1825 Information for the Truth-seeker in No. 165 of the *Allg. A. d. D. ib.* No. 194. (Expanded and altered in the *Mat. Med. Pura*, Vol. 6, under the title "How can small doses of such very attenuated Medicines as Homœopathy employs still possess Great Power?" *Lesser Writings*, p. 817 and Dudgeon's trans. of *Mat. Med. Pura*, II., p. 43. The *L. W.* gives the article as originally written in 1825, the *M. M. P.* as altered in 1827.)

1828 The Chronic Diseases, their Peculiar Nature and Homœopathic Treatment. Dresden b. Arnold. Pt. I. vi. and 241 pp.—Pt. II. 362 pp.—2nd. enlarged Edit. 1835.—Pt. III. 312 pp.—2nd. enlarged Edit. Düsseldorf b. Schaub. 1837.

1830 The Same, Pt. IV. 407 p.—2nd. enlarged Edit. Düsseldorf bei Schaub. 1838.

1830 The Same, Pt. V.—2nd. enlarged Edit. 1839. (Trans. by Hempel)

1831 Allopathy; a Word of Warning to all Sick Persons. Leipzig bei Baumgärtner. 32 p. (*Lesser Writings*, 827.)

1831 Appeal to Thinking Philanthropists on the Mode of Infection of Asiatic Cholera. Leipzig bei Berger. 20 p. (*Lesser Writings*, 849).

1831 Cure and Prevention of Asiatic Cholera. Cöthen bei Aue. (*Lesser Writings*, 845).

1831 Letter about the Cure of Cholera. Berlin bei Aug. Hirschwald 15 p.

1832 Cure of Cholera, with an Appendix. Nürnberg bei Stein. 1832.

1832 Remarks on the extreme attenuation of Homœopathic Medicines. *Arch. f. hom. Heilk.* Vols. 11 and 12. (*Lesser Writings*, 857.)

HAHNEMANN, AS A MAN.

Hahnemann was born at Meissen, in the kingdom of Saxony, on the 10th of April, 1755; he was the eldest of a family of ten. His parents adhered to the evangelical form of religion. His father was a painter on porcelain, and his circumstances were not such as to permit him to spend much money on his son's education; young Hahnemann was, therefore, destined to learn his father's trade. By the persuasion and with the help of his teachers he was, however, placed in a position to attend the Princely School

at Meissen, of which Müller was the principal. "A man who," as Hahnemann says of him in his autobiography of 1791,* while he was still alive, "has but few equals in uprightness and industry, who loved me as his child, and who allowed me a freedom in the choice of the subjects of my education for which I shall always be grateful to him, and which had a perceptible influence on the further course of my studies. In my twelfth year he commissioned me to teach to others the elements of the Greek language." Hahnemann received several other marks of partiality from his master. "My father was strongly opposed to my studying. On several occasions he took me away from the grammar school for years together, in order to devote me to some other occupation more suitable to his means. My teachers prevented this by refusing all fees during the last eight years, only begging him to allow me to stay with them and follow my inclination. He could not refuse this, but would do nothing more for me." Hahnemann's last essay before leaving the Princely School was on a subject selected by himself, "The Wonderful Construction of the Human Hand."

In Easter 1775, my father sent me to Leipzig with the sum of twenty thalers—the last money that I ever received from him. He had to bring up several children on his limited income, and this sufficiently excuses the best of fathers.

Hahnemann never enjoyed the unlicensed freedom and amenities of a student's life. He had to fight a hard battle with adversity. Besides diligently attending the courses of lectures, he taught German and French to a young Greek from Jassy, and further increased his income by translations. He probably worked through many nights, while his fellow-students were enjoying themselves in places of amusement. "I can myself testify that while I was at Leipzic I honestly tried to follow my father's injunction never to play a merely passive part in the matter of learning. Neither did I neglect exercise and fresh air, in

* In the work, *S. Hahnemann, ein biographisches Denkmal*, Leipzig, 1851.

order to preserve that strength of body by which alone mental exertion can be sustained." The fees of his courses of lectures were remitted by all the professors of medicine through the influence of the Counsellor of Mines, Pörner, a doctor in Meissen, and it thus became possible for him to save a small sum of money.

With this sum Hahnemann, in the year 1777, went, after a two years' sojourn in Leipzic, to Vienna, in order to study "practical medicine," for at that time there were no hospitals either in Leipzic or in many other university towns. Before his departure from Leipzic he was cheated out of part of his savings, so that he had only sixty-eight florins and twelve kreutzer to pay for his living in Vienna during nine months. Here the young medical student diligently attended the hospital of the Brothers of Charity in the Leopoldstadt, and was a zealous disciple of the physician in ordinary to the Emperor, Freiherr v. Quarin, of whom he speaks with great respect. Quarin, for his part, seems to have shown peculiar partiality for his pupil Hahnemann, for he was the only one whom he took with him on his private visits to patients.

Hahnemann himself says:—"He singled me out, loved and taught me as if I were his sole pupil in Vienna, and even more than that, and all without expecting any remuneration from me." Professor Bischoff* states that "Freiherr v. Quarin bestowed on Hahnemann his special friendship."

"The slender resources still remaining to me were on the verge of disappearing," so Hahnemann relates, "when the Governor of Transylvania, Baron v. Bruckenthal, invited me on honourable terms to accompany him to Hermannstadt as resident-physician and to take charge of his library, which was considerable." Hahnemann obtained this position through the warm recommendation of Quarin†, a proof that during his long intercourse with his pupil he had

* *Ansichten über das bisherige Heilverfahren*, Prague, 1819, p. 28.

† Brunnow, *Ein Blick auf Hahnemann*, Leipzig, S. 4, 1844 (translated by Norton, London, 1845).

learnt to value his practical knowledge. "Here (in Hermannstadt) I had an opportunity of learning other languages necessary to me, and also of acquiring other branches of knowledge in which I was deficient." Hahnemann seems to have studied chemistry and the art of smelting with special industry. After he had practised a year and three-quarters in this populous town, he went to Erlangen in order to take his degree of doctor. Here he also attended various lectures by Delius, Isenflamm, Schreber and Wendt, to whom he says, he "is indebted for much kindness"; and on the 10th of August he sustained his thesis: *Conspectus affectuum spasmodicorum aetiologicalis et therapeuticus*—Erlangæ, 1779, 4 to 20 p.

From Erlangen Hahnemann returned to his home. "The yearning of a Swiss for his rugged Alps cannot be more irresistible than that of a Saxon for his fatherland," he writes. After a sojourn of three quarters of a year in the mining town of Hettstädt, in Electoral Saxony, and in Dessau, he obtained in 1781 the post of parish doctor in Gommern, near Magdeburg. On the 1st of December, 1783, he married Henrietta Küchler, the step-daughter of an apothecary at Dessau, named Häseler, whom Hahnemann calls an excellent apothecary.* Hahnemann was not satisfied with a permanent residence at Gommern, and he therefore exchanged this place for Dresden. Here, according to his own statement, he enjoyed the intimate friendship of the town physician Wagner, who instructed him in forensic medicine ("for he was an expert in this branch") and committed to him (on account of his own illness) the charge of the town hospitals for a year with the consent of the magistrates—a proof that this doctor also had great confidence in Hahnemann's practical knowledge. The Superintendent of the Electoral Library, the well-known philologist Adelung, treated him with great kindness, and as we learn from Hahnemann's autobiography, both he and the Librarian Dössdorf, contributed largely to the pleasure and instruction afforded to him by his sojourn in Dresden.

* Brunnow, *I.c.*, p. 4.

"To be nearer the centres of knowledge," he went to Leipzig in 1789.

Hahnemann everywhere displayed indefatigable literary industry, and was considered a learned and very skilful physician.

Hahnemann was in Gotha from the year 1792, and treated the well-known author and private secretary, Klockenbring, who was confined in a lunatic asylum founded by the Duke at Georgenthal, with acknowledged success. He published an account of this case in 1796.*

After he had spent some time in Molschleben, near Gotha, he went in 1794 to Pyrmont, remaining there only a short time, and then to Brunswick. In 1797 he was at Königslutter; in 1799 he went to Altona and Hamburg. His residence in this commercial town does not, however, seem to have pleased him, for he soon returned to Eilenburg in his native country, where he had a difficulty with the municipal medical authority, because he insisted on dispensing his own medicines. On this account he again took to his wanderings and went to Machern near Leipzig. Thence he went to Wittenberg, and then to Dessau, where he remained two years; in 1806, he removed to Torgau. Here he wrote his *Organon der rationellen Heilkunst*, and in 1811 he went to Leipzig to qualify himself at the University there, so as to be able to give lectures on his new system of treatment. Here he and his pupils were zealously occupied with proving medicines on their own bodies, and the further development of his doctrines. His increasing practice aroused the envy of the doctors, and his practice of dispensing his own medicines alarmed the apothecaries. The latter took proceedings against him in 1819, on account of his dispensing his own medicines. Hahnemann in vain contended in an able vindication† that his medical treatment did not come under the existing medicinal regulations, and that his therapeutic implements had nothing to do with the medicines subject to these regulations. In vain! Hahnemann was forbidden to dispense

* See *Lesser Writings*, 287.

† *Lesser Writings*, 783.

his own medicines, and it was made impossible for him to practise in Leipzic. Duke Frederick Ferdinand of Anhalt offered him a refuge at Cöthen, together with full liberty to practise as he chose. Hahnemann, therefore, went there in the spring of 1821 as Hofrath and physician in ordinary to the Duke.

The following few fragments concerning Hahnemann's connexion with the ducal house have been published :*—

(1)

“Cöthen, Jan. 29th, 1823.

“MY DEAR HOFRATH HAHNEMANN,

“While expressing to you my thanks for your medical help this year, and for the past two years, and assuring you of my complete satisfaction, I wish you to accept the enclosed trifle as a slight recompence for your medicines and for your services. May Heaven preserve you in good health for many years to the benefit of suffering humanity.

“FERNAND, DUKE.”

(2)

“I HEREBY wish to thank you sincerely in my own name, and in that of my wife, the Duchess, for your good wishes for the New Year, and hope that you, too, may be preserved for many years for the benefit of mankind. At the same time let me have the pleasure of assuring you of the continuance of my favour.

“Cöthen, 3rd Jan., 1829.

“FERNAND.”

(3)

“My best thanks, my dear Hofrath, for your kind wishes for my birthday. I owe to your exertions one of the pleasantest gifts on entering on a new year—viz., improved health. I hope to preserve this to your praise and credit.

“With sincere pleasure,

“Yours very affectionately,

“JULIE, DUCHESS OF ANHALT.”

(4)

“I HAVE learnt with the greatest distress, my dear Hofrath, of the sad blow which has fallen on you this night†—the news was all the greater shock to me since I had no suspicion of the illness of the

* Hahnemann's *Leben und Wirken* von Albrecht, Leipzig, 1878.

† His wife's death apparently.

departed. I beg you to be assured of my most hearty sympathy, and to grant my earnest request that, under this severe shock, you will not neglect your health, which is so necessary to the welfare of mankind.

“*JULIE, DUCHESS OF ANHALT.*”

Duke Henry also expressed his gratitude to Hahnemann on various occasions. The number of his patients in Cöthen grew from year to year, so much so that Hahnemann was obliged to engage Counsellor Lehmann to help him in his work. He occupied himself with the development of his system with undiminished energy and pleasure.

On 31st, March, 1830, Hahnemann lost his wife, who, for forty-six years, had shared the storms of his life with him.

Hahnemann's Personality and Character.

Sufficient information is obtainable on this subject, but with regard to the history of his life, the accounts of his biographers are so meagre that it is now very difficult, if not impossible, to fill up the existing gaps. Brunnow relates:*

“On a bright spring day in the year, 1816, I, then a young, newly inscribed student of law, was strolling along the pleasant promenades of Leipzig with some companions. The University then possessed several notabilities, and not a few originals among its professors. Many a professor and tutor marched gravely along in the old Franconian dress of the previous century, with wig and hair bag, silk stockings and buckled shoes, while the flaunting students of the various nationalities strutted about swaggering in hussar's jackets and braided trousers, or in leather breeches with high dragoon boots and clanking spurs—

“Who is that old gentleman with the intelligent face, walking arm-in-arm with a stout lady, and followed by four rosy-cheeked girls?” I asked one of the older students near me.

“That is the celebrated Doctor Hahnemann, with his wife and daughters?” was the answer. “He walks round the town regularly every afternoon.”

* *Ein Blick auf Hahnemann*, Leipzig, 1844.

"Who is this Hahnemann," I asked? "for what is he celebrated?"

"He is the discoverer of the homœopathic method of treatment which is upsetting the old system of medicine," replied my acquaintance, who, like me, was an inhabitant of Dresden, and who served under the banner of Themis.

Brunnow made further inquiries, and as he was himself in indifferent health, he consulted Hahnemann, and was admitted to intercourse with the family, concerning whom he gives us welcome information:—

Hahnemann was then in his 62nd year. Silvery locks surrounded his lofty, thoughtful brow, beneath which his intelligent eyes flashed forth with piercing fire. His whole face had a calmly inquiring, grand expression; only at times did the expression of a delicate humour replace that of deep earnestness which indicated that he had gone through many troubles and struggles. His bearing was upright, his gait firm, his movements alert, like those of a man of thirty. When he went out he dressed quite simply in a dark colored surtout, and breeches and boots. In his own room, however, he liked to wear a brightly-flowered dressing-gown, yellow slippers and black velvet cap. His long pipe was seldom out of his hand, and this indulgence in tobacco was the only relaxation from his abstemious mode of life. His drink was water, milk and white beer, his food extremely frugal. His whole domestic arrangements were as simple as his dress and food. Instead of a bureau, he used a large plain square table on which three or four huge folios lay, in which he had entered the histories of the maladies of his patients, and which he was accustomed, when interviewing them, to consult diligently, and in which he wrote down their cases. For his examination of patients was carried out with the exactness which he recommends in his *Organon*.

Hahnemann received me most kindly, and our intimacy increased every day. I was attached to him by strong bonds of veneration and gratitude. I shall never forget the good he did me.

The life in Hahnemann's house was peculiar. The members of the household and his academic pupils lived and worked for one object alone—that was homœopathy, for which everyone strove to labour in his own way. The four grown-up daughters helped the father in preparing his medicines, and willingly took their part in proving the various remedies. The students who were devoted to the great reformer were still more eager to do this, and their names are still to be found carefully recorded in the pathogeneses of the various remedies in the *Materia Medica Pura*.

The patients were enthusiastic in their praises of the grand results of homœopathy, and became apostles of the new teaching among the unbelievers.....

When the day's work was done, Hahnemann was accustomed to

recruit himself from the hours of eight to ten by conversation in a familiar circle of friends. All his friends and pupils had free access to him, and were happy and cheerful while smoking and drinking white beer. In the middle of the listening circle in his comfortable arm-chair with his long pipe in his hand, sat the venerable *Æsculapius*, and alternately related amusing and serious stories from his stormy life, while puffing clouds of smoke from his pipe. Natural Science and the condition of foreign nations often formed the subjects of those evening conversations. Hahnemann had a special partiality for the Chinese, and for this reason that they lay very great stress on the respect and strict obedience due from children to their parents—a duty which is becoming more and more neglected in our civilised European world. Hahnemann's family, indeed, presented an example of the old German family discipline. It was evident that the children not only obeyed but truly loved their parents.

Hahnemann demanded not only intelligence and industry from his pupils, but also strict morality. I know of a case in which a talented young medical student was forbidden the house on account of a disreputable connexion with a pretty girl of easy virtue.

With regard to religion, Hahnemann, who belonged to the Lutheran confession held aloof from all dogmatic creeds. He was a pure Deist, but he was this with full conviction.

“I cannot cease to praise and thank God when I contemplate his works,” he was accustomed to say.

Strict as was the obedience Hahnemann demanded from his children, as a husband he was far from having the rule in his own hands. His tall and stout wife, who, as Agnes Frei did to the noble painter, Albrecht Dürer, gave him many a bitter hour, exercised the most baneful influence over him. It was she who cut him off from society, and set him against his medical colleagues. It was she who often caused dissension between himself and his most faithful pupils, if they did not treat the doctor's wife with the deepest respect. Notwithstanding this, Hahnemann was accustomed to call this scolding Xantippe, who took pleasure in raising a storm in the house, “the noble companion of his professional life.”

We learn the following particulars from the Seminary Director, Albrecht,* who enjoyed familiar intercourse with Hahnemann from 1821 to 1835:—

Hahnemann was always happiest in his family circle, and displayed here as nowhere else a most amiable disposition to mirth and cheerfulness. He joked with his children in the intervals which he could devote to them, sang cradle songs to the little ones, composed little verses for them, and used every opportunity to instruct them.....

* *Hahnemann's Leben*, Leipzig, 1875, 2nd edit.

Although at first he had but little, he spent as much as he could possibly save on the education and culture of his children. He wished them to learn what was worth learning. His son understood and spoke Latin, Greek, French, English and Italian ; he understood as much of Arabic as could be required and desired from a highly-educated physician. He was also a very fair musician ; he played the guitar and the piano, and displayed great skill in many other useful acquirements. He became a medical man, and in this capacity wrote a defence of his father against Hecker (Dresden, 1811). He was persecuted by both doctors and chemists on account of his practice of dispensing medicines himself. He emigrated at last and died during Hahnemann's lifetime. "Four daughters and a son are, together with my wife, the pleasure of my life," so Hahnemann wrote in 1791. The son, whose name was Frederick, was then five years old.....

Hahnemann paid attention, too, to the education of his daughters. They were thoroughly instructed in all domestic and feminine duties by their mother. Their mother had, indeed, greater influence over them than their father so long as they were still at home. She was a remarkable woman of an energetic character and educated above the ordinary standard. She was much respected and beloved by her husband and children. She had also had a musical education, and composed music to words written by herself. Hahnemann, too, was a great lover of music, and had a pleasant singing voice, but without knowing a note. He was fond of coming into the parlour when he took an interval of repose from his work—between nine and ten—and of getting his wife to play him something on the piano.

Here is another description of Hahnemann's family life:—

Hahnemann combined firmness and kindness in the education of his children ; he was unwilling to punish, and when he did so was always dispassionate and just. Where he could do so it gave him real pleasure to forgive. One of the peculiar features of his educational plan was that his daughters were not allowed to learn to dance. Was he then an enemy of social enjoyment ? On the contrary, he enjoyed innocent mirth in the society of his friends ; he was fond of jokes, and sometimes laughed till the tears stood in his eyes. But he never indulged in inordinate demonstrations of pleasure, and his self-respect preserved him from anything like a false step, from any overstepping of the strict line of propriety.*

All the authors who describe Hahnemann's family life from their own experience agree in bearing witness to the cordial relations existing between Hahnemann and his children. They acknowledge the worth of his first wife, of

* *Hahnemann, ein biographisches Denkmal*, Leipzig, 1851, p. 113

whom Hahnemann always spoke with love and esteem. Even if she were, as Brunnow says, fond of power and imperious—and Brunnow's writings bear the stamp of truthfulness — yet she must have possessed excellent qualities which were highly valued by her husband. Her energy was, no doubt, often a support to him in his stormy life. “The region of romance was far from her—she lived in realities.”

A letter from Hahnemann to Stapf, written on the 17th of December, 1816,* shows his high conception of family life. Stapf had in the first year or two of his married life, informed Hahnemann of the birth of a daughter. Hahnemann replies :—

I take the most cordial interest in this happy event—the addition to your family. May your dear little daughter grow up to be a joy to her parents. I, for my part, have been accustomed to look upon each increase of my family, each confinement of my wife, as one of the most important events of my life. An offspring of our most intimate union, a new human being springing from our blood sees the light of day, increasing the joys and the (wholesome) sorrows of his parents, awaiting a wonderful development and destiny in this life and a preparation for the higher ends of his existence through all eternity. A solemn thought well calculated to lead us to serious reflections.

And behold ! with what solemn preparation the new citizen enters the world, after the throes of his mother between life and death, and uncertain whether she herself may not sacrifice her earthly life and leave her children orphans and her sorrowing husband desolate. I see the grave of the wife open whose life was so full of promise—the grave of departed happiness for husband and children, and the portals of eternity opening for her—and side by side with these awe-inspiring possibilities there appears the new-born longed-for life for mother and child, the triumphal entrance into existence of a young being of divine origin—both events during these anxious moments await decision in the unopened hand of God. What a terrible yet ecstatic time of anxious expectation !

For myself, every accouchement of my wife, every one of these almost supernatural occurrences deeply agitates my inmost life. I have accepted each as a refining and purifying process for my moral being from the great principle of Good, the Father of perfected spirits—and I have striven to use these awe-inspiring moments, fraught with eternal purposes, for the cleansing and purifying of my own character

* Published in 1844 in *Archiv f. hom. Heilk.*, XXI., H. 1, p. 157.

—and where I could still detect stains in myself—envy towards my fellow-creatures, any suspicious or hypocritical taint in my heart, any trace of falsehood or duplicity, any disposition to appear and to speak differently from my true conviction, I have resolved to purge myself of them.

The editor of the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen* Legationsrath Dr. Hennicke, passes this judgment on Hahnemann in his paper (1825, p. 901): "The editor (Hennicke) had, in 1792, the honour of making the acquaintance of this man distinguished by his rare acumen, his powers of observation, his clear judgment, as well as by his originality of character, uprightness and simplicity." And in another passage (*ib.* 1833, p. 133): "I have for more than twenty years printed the coarsest invectives against homœopathy and its founder, so long as they had the semblance of truthfulness and justice and bore the name of their author, and this, although I have been for more than forty years on the most friendly terms with Hofrath Hahnemann, and respect him as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race, on account of his far-reaching scientific culture, his piercing intelligence, his profound and clear spirit of observation, and his great medical services, which, for the past fifty years, have been thankfully acknowledged by all competent judges of medical science. Two cures which Hahnemann successfully accomplished in the year 1792 in Gotha and Georgenthal, and which excited general admiration, together with the opinion of him held by a doctor who died here (Dr. Buddeus), first directed my attention to Hahnemann, filled me with the greatest esteem for him, and were the origin of our friendly relations and of our subsequent uninterrupted correspondence."

Griesselich,* who visited Hahnemann in Cöthen in 1832, writes of him thus:—

Hahnemann at the age of seventy-seven showed in every action all the fire of a young man. No trace of old age could be detected in his physical appearance, except the white locks surrounding his temples, and the bald crown, which is covered with a velvet cap. Small and sturdy

* *Skizzen, &c.* Karlsruhe, 1832.

in form, Hahnemann is lively and brisk ; every movement is full of life. His eyes reveal his inquiring spirit ; they flash with the fire of youth. His features are sharp and animated. As old age seems to have left few traces on his body, so is it with his mind. His language is fiery, fluent ; often it becomes vehement as a stream of lava against the enemies and opponents—not of himself personally, for that he never alluded to but—of the great truths to the testing of which he had summoned his colleagues for many decades. His memory seems to be unaffected ; after long interludes and side conversation he continues where he left off. When he becomes heated in conversation, which often happens, whether about friend or foe, or on scientific subjects, his words flow forth uninterruptedly, his whole manner becomes extremely animated, and an expression appears on his countenance which his visitor [Griesselich] admired in silence. Perspiration covers his lofty brow ; his cap is removed ; even his long pipe—his trusty companion—goes out and must be re-lighted by the taper which is at hand and kept burning all day. But the white beer must not be forgotten ! The venerable old man had so accustomed himself to this sweet drink that it always stood in a large covered glass on his table ; at his meals, too, he takes this drink, which is unknown in South Germany [Griesselich lived in Karlsruhe]. He does not drink wine ; his mode of life is very simple, abstemious, and patriarchal.....

There is generally something polemical in Hahnemann's conversation. At the same time he proclaims openly that he would give everyone free scope who entered on the field of experience in order to confirm and complete defective results (his own included), and who did not seek to overthrow them by mere assumptions.....he is, indeed, far from seeking to establish a despotism over his followers which would shut out every other view.

Men who have known Hahnemann personally recall with pleased admiration his grand, bright, penetrating eyes, his lofty, clear forehead, his remarkably well-formed head, his firm but not unkindly mouth.

Certain incidental expressions in his books reveal his ambition to excel the majority of men in his deeds. He had the just consciousness of superior powers. Petty vanity was far removed from him. He wrote to Stafp in 1816, in a letter published after his death :* “One word more ; no more encomiums of me ; I altogether dislike them, for I feel myself to be nothing more than a plain, straightforward

* *Arch. f. d. hom. Heilk.*, Vol. XXI., H. 1, p. 162 (transl. in *Brit. Jour. of Hom.*, Vol. III., 141).

man who merely does his duty. Let us express our regard for one another only in simple words and conduct indicating mutual esteem." No single passage in his writings indicates that he ever weakly complained of the persecution to which he personally was subject. Griesselich, in describing his visit to Hahnemann, specially mentions this habit of putting his personality out of the question. He himself writes :* "I care nothing for the ingratitude and persecution which have pursued me on my wearisome pilgrimage, the great objects I have pursued have prevented my life from being joyless." While a storm of opposition was raging against him and repeated attempts were made to crush him, he was occupied with unwearied and unremitting zeal in developing his doctrines, finding compensation for all these attacks in the consciousness of having striven for and attained great ends. "The satisfaction I have derived from this mode of treatment I would not exchange for the most coveted of earthly possessions," he writes to Hufeland.†

In 1829 he wrote to a young physician, Dr. Schreter, of Lemberg,‡ who had been inveighing warmly against Hahnemann's medical opponents, to abstain from doing so: "No good result will come of it. You put yourself out of temper by it (a most undesirable state of mind), and matters will not change until Divine Providence produces a better state of things in its own good time. Rather compassionate the poor blind infatuated creatures; it is mortification enough for them not to be able to accomplish anything valuable. Just leave them alone and go along in the path of rectitude. Be honourable in your practice without allowing yourself to be led astray; you will then have the blessing of a good conscience and can live your own life cheerfully and happily in privacy."

He never for a moment doubted of the final triumph of homœopathy as is shown by many passages in his works. We quote one here. In the year 1815 Staph had expressed

* *Chron. Krank.*, Vol. I., p. 8.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 587.

‡ In a letter published after his death, *Archiv*, XXI., H, 2, p. 182 (*Brit. Jour. of Hom.*, Vol. V., 398).

to him his hope that a distinguished allopath might be converted in order that the spread of homœopathy might be more rapid. Hahnemann answered:*

Our art requires no political lever, no worldly decorations in order to become something. It grows gradually, at first unrecognised, surrounded as it is by all manner of weeds which luxuriate around it, from an insignificant acorn to a sapling ; soon its summit will over-top the rank weeds ; patience ! it is striking deep its roots into the earth, it is increasing in strength imperceptibly but all the more surely, and will in its own time grow into an oak of God, which, no longer to be shaken by storms, spreads out its branches into all regions that suffering mankind may be healed under its beneficent shade.

So Hahnemann wrote in 1815, when only a few isolated doctors in Saxony were among his adherents. He lived to see his system spread over the whole earth, to see thousands of homœopathic practitioners, converts from allopathy, some of whom occupied brilliant positions, and, further, to see the number of enthusiastic adherents of homœopathy amounting to many millions.

Hahnemann's handwriting was small and neat but firm, and he preferred to write on small-sized paper, as appears from his letters and notes.† He took pains to write every letter distinctly and he wrote a beautiful hand. He was very particular in his forms of expression, and often we find in one line two or three corrections. Up to his latest years he read and wrote without spectacles (Albrecht).

Albrecht (*l.c.*) writes thus of his knowledge :—

His amount of knowledge was astonishing. He was at home in all the sciences, even in those which had no connexion with medicine—information could be obtained from him about them all ; for even if he had not particularly pursued any branch of science, he was sure to have read a great deal about it. “A really educated man” he used often to say “must be well up in all subjects.” Thus he was well acquainted with astronomy. A planetary system hung in his room ; he was fond of conversing with his nephew, Hofrath

* *Archiv*, XXI., H. 2, p. 129 (*B. J. of H.* III., 198)

† See *Lesser Writings*, p. X.

Schwabe, who had a telescope in his garden, on astronomical matters. He was a good meteorologist, and was something of a weather prophet. This he owed to the hygrometer, barometers and thermometers which he liked to watch in his room and garden. He was not less thoroughly acquainted with geography; and a rich collection of maps formed part of his large library, containing works on all branches of science. Magnetism and mesmerism were more closely allied to the study of medicine. Hahnemann paid especial attention to them both and made use of them in certain cases of disease with favourable results. Up to his latest years Hahnemann spent a great part of his leisure hours in reading.

Hahnemann's numerous translations show that he was proficient in modern languages. But this did not interfere with his love for ancient philology—he was a thorough philologist [his inaugural thesis* shows that he was even able to read Chaldaic works.] This to a great extent explains his friendship with the philologist Professor Adam Beyer. They met occasionally in the evening, and most earnestly discussed syntactic and critical points in Greek and Latin, and the Leipzig Professor listened with particular attention to the opinion of his medical friend on controverted points in various philological controversies.

Hahnemann's wonderful and thorough acquaintance with all branches of knowledge can, notwithstanding his natural gifts, be only accounted for when we learn from Hartmann that his health was such that he could work through every other night, and this he doubtless frequently did.

Besides his many translations of scientific works, we are indebted to his industry for the translation from the English of the *History of Abelard and Heloise*, a work which is of both political and ecclesiastical importance. The *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*† contains this criticism on it:—

Hahnemann's translation is correct and fluent, and we can recommend his work to those who have long wished to have this interesting subject better treated.

In the year 1834 a highly cultivated French lady, thirty-four years of age, Mélanie d'Hervilly Gohier (born in 1800) came to Cöthen and placed herself under Hahne-

* *On the Helleborism of the Ancients. Lesser Writings*, p. 644.

† 1792, Vol. CVI., p. 243.

mann's medical treatment. She succeeded in fascinating Hahnemann by her intelligence, her unusual degree of culture and her natural grace, so that he resolved to throw in his lot with hers. His friends heard with surprise, as Rummel states, that the old man of eighty had married again on 28th January, 1835. His young wife persuaded Hahnemann to quit his native land. Paris she thought was the town where her husband's renown could be still further extended ; Paris alone could give him the honour which was his due. Hahnemann yielded. And Paris and France did not fail to fulfil his wife's promises. He was received with enthusiasm and distinguished marks of honour in Paris, and enjoyed high respect and grateful recognition up to the end of his life.

His domestic life there seems to have been very happy, as is apparent from his letters. Thus he writes on the 13th of August, 1840, to Dr. Schreter of Lemberg,* in a letter published after his death :—

I cannot remember in my long life having ever felt better and happier than here in Paris, where I am enjoying the affectionate intercourse of my dear Mélanie, who cares for nothing in the world more than for me. I find, too, that my medical labours begin to excite more than attention—respect—for our divine healing art in this great metropolis.

He kept up a constant and affectionate correspondence with his family in Germany, who also visited him in Paris.

On his death, Jahr writes from Paris on the 4th of June, 1843, in the *Allgem. homöopathische Zeitung* (vol. xxiv. No. 17) :—

Hahnemann is dead !

About the 15th of April he was taken ill with the malady that usually attacked him in the spring—a bronchial catarrh—and it took such hold of him that his wife admitted no one. The report was spread several times that he was dead ; this was, however, contradicted. I had been intending to call myself, when I received a note from Mme. Hahnemann begging me to come that same day. I went at once, and was admitted to Hahnemann's bedroom. Here—think

* *Archiv. f. hom. Heilk.*, Vol. XXIII., H. 3, p. 107.

of the sight!—instead of seeing Hahnemann—the dear, friendly old man smile his greeting—I found his wife stretched in tears on the bed and him lying cold and stiff by her side, having passed five hours before into that life where there is no strife, no sickness and no death. Yes, dear friends, our venerable Father Hahnemann has finished his course! a chest affection has, after a six week's illness, liberated his spirit from its weary frame. His mental powers remained unimpaired up to the last moment, and although his voice became more and more unintelligible, yet his broken words testified to the continued clearness of his mind and to the calm with which he anticipated his approaching end. At the very commencement of his illness he told those about him that this would be his last, as his frame was worn out.

At first he treated himself, and, till a short time before his death, he expressed his opinions relative to the remedies recommended by his wife and a certain Dr. Chatran. He only really suffered just at the end from increasing oppression on the chest. When, after one such attack, his wife said:—"Providence surely owes you exemption from all suffering, as you have relieved so many others and have suffered so many hardships in your arduous life," he answered, "Why should I expect exemption from suffering? Every one in this world works according to the gifts and powers which he has received from Providence, and *more or less* are words used only before the judgment seat of man, not before that of Providence. Providence owes me nothing. I owe it much. Yea, everything!"

Profound grief for this great loss is felt here by all his followers. All shed tears of gratitude and affection for him. But the loss of those who have had the happiness of enjoying the friendship of this great man, can only be estimated by those who have known him in his domestic circle, and especially during his last years. He himself when not persecuted by others, was not only a *good*, but a simple-hearted and benevolent man, who was never happier than when among friends to whom he could unreservedly open his heart. Well, he has nobly fought through and gloriously completed his difficult and often painful course. *Sit ei terra levis!*

For the student who follows the development of Hahnemann's great idea, who carefully reads his numerous works, comparing them with the views of his contemporaries, and who thus becomes aware of his iron industry, his rare gift of observation and the lofty enthusiasm with which he strove to do all that lay in his power for the advancement of the healing art, and for those who have repeated, as he desired, his experiments, and who know by experience gained

at the sick bed what this grand genius has accomplished—for these and such as these it would be taking “owls to Athens” to quote words of praise from the lips of strangers; it would be like trying to prove Humboldt’s greatness as a naturalist by citing the recognition he received from his contemporaries. But for those who hold themselves aloof or are even hostile we may be permitted to quote certain proofs that it is not only homœopaths who show respect for this man.

All the following appreciations are from non-homœopaths :—

Compare the testimonies quoted on pp. 74, 75.

Prof. J. R. Bischoff* writes in 1819: “Dr. S. Hahnemann has won for himself during a period of forty years a most honourable name in the field of medicine.”

About the same time Professor Puchelt writes in Hufeland’s *Journal*,† in an article which he published in the following year, 1820, as a separate pamphlet :—

All this ought not to make us unjust to a man to whom we cannot deny a very high degree of acumen, logical powers and perseverance, who had previously done much valuable work in the field of medicine before the invention of his system, and who, in the system itself, according to our opinion, promulgates many views, which well deserve to be noticed, and which will certainly be acknowledged sooner or later in scientific medicine.

Further on he repeatedly speaks of him as a “learned physician.”

In the same place Hahnemann is spoken of in a note by Hufeland as “the worthy founder of homœopathy.”

Dr. v. Wedekind, formerly professor of clinical medicine in the University of Mainz, says :—‡

Hahnemann is known to me as an experienced, learned, and genial physician.....

Far be it from me to assert that Herr Hahnemann wishes to serve the purposes of the obscurantists ; his clear intellect loves the light.....

My learned opponent.....

* *Ansichten über das bisherige Heilverfahren und die hom. Krankheitslehre*, Prague, 1819, p. 27.

† St. 6, pp. 15 and 27.

‡ *Priifung des hom. Systems*, Darmstadt, 1825.

Learn, gentlemen, the opinions held by Hahnemann, an old, learned, experienced, highly educated and renowned physician, respecting our science and ourselves. The manner in which this man propounds his ideas, shows so deep and earnest a conviction that you must pause before you reproach him with charlatany.....

How in all the world could the celebrated and learned Hahnemann, fall into the error of propagating such a doctrine?.....

He believes in his theory. Where shall we find a remedy to cure homeopathically this meritorious savant.

The passage has been already referred to in which Hufeland characterises Hahnemann as one of the "most distinguished, gifted and original physicians." He continues as follows: "Is it necessary to remind my readers that medicine has to thank him for the discovery of the wine test and of the soluble mercury, which is in my opinion still the most efficacious preparation of mercury, as well as for so much else. He has given sufficient proof in many of his earlier writings of a grand philosophical acumen and of a rare power of observation." In Oken's *Isis* (1822, p. 135), Hahnemann is thus spoken of: "This earnest thoughtful man, one of the best physicians of our time."

Dr. Fr. Groos (physician in ordinary to the Grand Duke of Baden) says,* "I cannot refrain from admiring Hahnemann's profound thoughtfulness and originality."

Naumann: † "The doctors of Germany have gladly accorded Hahnemann their respect as a highly accredited thinker."

He also praises him in these words: "Hahnemann's services with respect to the more accurate knowledge of the properties of many drugs will never be forgotten." (*ib.* p. 116.)

Urban passes the following judgment in Hufeland's *Journal* in 1827:‡ "The undisputed merit remains to him for all time of having directed attention to the pure curative properties of medicines, and of having thus paved the way for a rational and experimental development of the *materia medica*.

* *Ueber das hom. Heilprincip.* Heidelberg, 1825, p. 19.

† Hufeland's *Bibliothek*, 1825, Vol. LIII., p. 42.

‡ *St.* 4, p. 80.

In Froriep's *Notizen aus dem Gebiete der Natur- und Heilkunde*, 1829,* Hahnemann is compared "with other men of genius.....Although the system of homœopathy is very incomplete, yet its founder is to be considered thrice happy because he has found a standpoint from which he has been able mightily to move the intellectual world, and his name will be mentioned with reverence and admiration by posterity, along with those of Galen, Paracelsus and Brown."

In 1833, Krüger-Hansen,† whom no one could accuse of friendship for Hahnemann, writes: "The history of medicine will always assign to him an honourable place among those physicians who clearly recognise the faults of extreme allopathy, and who perseveringly call new ideas into life."

Geheimrath Dr. Link calls Hahnemann "a man of large information and great acumen."‡

Kurt Sprengel, the historian, expresses himself thus: "So far am I from bearing ill will to a man whom I have never seen that I have on the contrary for more than forty years spoken highly of his learning and his great technical skill."§

Stieglitz:|| "It is impossible to deny that Hahnemann is a man of great intelligence and possessing much knowledge."

C. A. Eschemnayer, Professor in Tübingen:¶ "Hahnemann undertook his great experiment with a perseverance and circumspection to which we cannot refuse our admiration." "So much has been achieved that we can only gaze with admiration at this gigantic intellect who conceived the idea of reforming medicine, and showed by example how it was to be done."

On the 7th of April, 1841, the Saxon Ambassador in

* No. 7, Kleinert, *Reportor. der ges. deutsch. med.-chir. Journ.*, 1830, IV., 119.

† *Die Allopathie und Homöopathie auf der Wage*, p. 11.

‡ Hufeland's *Journ.*, LXXVI., St. 6, p. 64.

§ *Ueber Homöopathie*, translated from the Latin by Schragge. Magdeburg, 1833, p. 33.

|| *Die Homöopathie*, Hanover, 1835, p. 89.

¶ *Die Allöopathie und Homöopathie*, Tübingen, 1834, pp. 47 and 122.

Paris presented him with the freedom of his native town Meissen.

It would be easy to add a still greater number to these recognitions of Hahnemann's merits on the part of non-homœopaths, if Hahnemann required such supports.*

* [To these we may be permitted to add a couple of testimonies from two of the most learned and illustrious old-school medical authors of this country. Fletcher (*Elements of General Pathology*, p. 493) says: "Hahnemann's book (*Organon*) is an original and interesting one, and displays more reflection in every page than many of his reviewers will evince in the whole course of their life and conduct for half a century." Sir J. Forbes writes (*Medical Review*, Vol. 21, p. 226): "Hahnemann was undoubtedly a man of genius and a scholar, a man of indefatigable industry, of undaunted energy. In the history of medicine his name will appear in the same list with those of the greatest systematists and theorists, surpassed by few in the originality and ingenuity of his views, superior to most in having substantiated and carried out his doctrines into actual and most extensive practice." —ED.]

PART II.

The Opposition to Homœopathy.

As has already been several times mentioned, Hahnemann first brought forward his method of healing in the year 1796, in Hufeland's *Journal*.* A very unfavourable criticism of it appeared soon after in the *Journal der Erfindungen*,† by Hecker. It was to the following effect: (a.) Hahnemann's statement of the large number of specific remedies is exaggerated and opposed to rational medicine. (b.) The effects of medicines on the body are so various that they can scarcely be estimated. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the proving of substances on healthy persons may give valuable indications for their employment as medicines. (c.) The effects on sick persons are still more variable. Hahnemann's principle has, therefore, no basis. (d.) The effect of certain remedies in accordance with the principle *similia similibus* is only apparent; if this were so, smoke, which causes inflammation of the lungs, would also cure it. (e.) Hahnemann pays too much attention to symptoms. (f.) He recklessly recommends certain very poisonous substances—arsenic, belladonna, hyoscyamus, stramonium, &c.—and for this advice he cannot expect the approval of cautious physicians. He therefore concludes that "Hahnemann's principle is a principle without a principle," that it has no practical value and leads to empiricism and the pernicious employment of poisons; there are better ways of working

* *Essay on a New Principle, &c.* *Lesser Writings*, p. 295.

† St. 22, p. 71.

than this, which rests on vague, mistaken, and nonsensical allegations.

This was Hahnemann's first reception; he did not answer it, but complained incidentally later, in 1800, that he had been "badly treated by this periodical."

All medical men, however, were not of Hecker's opinion. A later reviewer says:—"Hahnemann has in this article given ample proof of his sagacity, and has thrown much light on the properties and uses of many medicines." "This article has excited much attention, and has been subjected to sharp criticism, which has caused the suppression of original and fruitful ideas, probably to the detriment of science."

Another physician, Dr. A. Fr. Fischer writes,† concerning this first essay:—

Feeling most strongly that the accurate appreciation of the effects of medicines, particularly of those which are extremely powerful, is indispensable for perfecting the medical art, we gave Hahnemann our approval when he began to investigate the remedial powers of various medicines, and to indicate a new way for their proper appreciation, the results of which he communicated in the second and third volumes of the older Hufeland's *Journal*. He at that time thought it right to administer medicines in doses adapted to the animal body, as is shown by the reports of cases communicated by him to that journal.

Kurt Sprengel's judgment‡ upon the same article is as follows:—

Samuel Hahnemann has made an interesting attempt in the general theory of therapeutics to furbish up anew the ideas of the old methodists as to the transformation of the body, by showing by a clear induction that most of the powerfully acting specific remedies are useful in as much as they produce an artificial irritation, often causing symptoms similar to those of the disease. Our common experience of the action of artificial counter-irritation, by means of which the morbid irritation is removed, confirms Hahnemann's theory completely.

* Pierer's *Allgem. medic. Annal.* des 19 Jahrh., 1810, Nov., p. 961.

† *Die Homöopathie vor dem Richterstuhle der Vernunft.* Dresden, 1829, p. 32.

‡ *Kritische Übersicht des Zustandes der Arzneykunde in dem letzten Jahrzehend.* Halle, 1801, p. 303.

Amongst the notices of Hahnemann's teaching in Hufeland's *Journal* itself, we find the following: In 1799, Sponitzer,* a medical writer of repute, afterwards nominated Regierungs-rath to the Government of Pomerania, writes:—"In this case, to give only one or at most two remedies would be merely to act in a capricious and irrational manner and to neglect the patient. Therefore, I do not agree with Herr Hahnemann. Simplification may be carried too far. Indeed, such abstract ideas are liable to be often misunderstood and badly applied, and are of little value in actual practice." The author expands this view in an article on the difficult teething of children, in which he commends the employment of emetics, clysters and aperients. "These latter must be continued through the whole course of the illness if there is any ground for suspecting the retention of concealed noxious matters."

The simplicity of Hahnemann's doses of medicine appears to Professor Nolde, of Rostock † (1799) "so natural and clear that it can admit of no doubt. On the other hand, it would be going too far to act always in accordance with Hahnemann's proposal to use only one single remedy in diseases," this would, indeed, be quite wrong, e.g., cantharides must often be given with camphor, opium with aperients, &c.

These remarks and views show that Hahnemann's ideas were not understood. He wanted to know the specific relations of different medicines to special kinds of diseases, to special parts of the body and to special tissues; he wished to overthrow the crude ideas respecting morbid matters, and to get rid of the chimney-sweep and stupefying methods of treatment. He showed a correct physiological apprehension of the subject, even if he could not utilize the physiology of his day in support of his views. And his colleagues come forward and prate about "concealed noxious matters" and a combination of opium with aperients. In order that opium might not paralyse the peristaltic action of the bowels and thus prevent the

* Vol. VII., St. 2, p. 80.

† Vol. VIII., St. 2, p. 68.

expulsion of the morbid matters, an aperient must be given at the same time. This was scientific practice.

The following confession shows the character of the prescriptions then in use. In Vol. X. (St. 3, p. 60), 1800, Wichmann, after speaking of Hahnemann, says that he gives some remedies in which he has confidence quite alone. "By doing so I make the apothecary, who is accustomed to prescriptions a foot long, shake his head over my meagre prescriptions, or even look upon me as an idiot." So that doctors were ashamed to order simple remedies. This makes Hahnemann's remarks (p. 80) intelligible.

Dr. Jani, of Gera,* was the first who wrote about Hahnemann's remedy and prophylactic for scarlatina, belladonna. He states that with this remedy he had observed good results in several cases, but that it was not an unconditional prophylactic. "It is therefore conceivable," he says, "that the worthy Dr. Hahnemann made his observations under a more favourable concurrence of circumstances than I did, and was thus led to a false conclusion." In mentioning small doses, Jani says that these have met with opposition on the part of the public. In the following year, 1801, a reviewer, who had himself made no practical experiments, writes on the subject of Hahnemann's doses in the same periodical (IV. 100): "It would be worth while giving the man a civic crown, or, better still, a big pension, to keep him from writing any more of such incredible things."

Hufeland was of a different opinion:—†

I was sorry that a man whose services to our art have been so great should have been so badly used in reference to his prophylactic for scarlet fever, and I cannot deny that the almost infinitesimal smallness of the dose of belladonna staggered me.....In any case it [Hahnemann's treatise] contains valuable hints on the more subtle effects of medicines and the modifications they may receive in various states of the organism and in the preparation and mode of exhibition of the remedy, to which generally no attention has been given. [Here it is expressly acknowledged that most physicians in

* *Med. chir. Ztg.*, IV., 316, Oct., 1800.

† *Huf. Journ.* VI., St. 2.

contradistinction to Hahnemann, usually gave no attention to the preparation and exhibition of medicines.] There are undoubtedly secrets here unsuspected by the ordinary pharmacist and practitioner, and the voice of a man who has occupied himself for more than ten years with the preparation and administration of narcotic and other poisonous substances, deserves the greatest attention. I, at least, am persuaded that the usual quantitative proportion of remedies is not always the right principle for determining their effects, and that a grain may, under certain circumstances and combinations, produce more effect than a ten times greater quantity—nay that even the smallest dose may produce results not to be obtained by a large one.

In the year 1800 Hufeland in his *System der prakt. Heilkunde** gives his judgment as follows (he is speaking of the choice of the remedy):—

The resemblance of the effects of the remedy to the symptoms of the disease. We notice, for instance, that a certain remedy induces mania in a healthy person, or produces general or local convulsions or paralysis. This may lead us to employ this remedy in cases of mania and in similar convulsive or paralytic cases. Belladonna which makes a healthy man maniacal cures the insane. Violent emotions which can produce a form of intermittent fever can also cure it. This principle enunciated by Hahnemann may doubtless serve to guide us to the discovery of useful remedies, but it always remains an empirical principle, and seems to be only applicable in purely nervous diseases.

In Vol. XIII. of Hufeland's *Journal*, 1802, an instance of cure by means of veratrum album on the principle indicated by Hahnemann is related.

The *Med. chir. Zeitung* contained, 1801 (I. 253), a criticism of the *Arsneischatz*, with Hahnemann's notes, in which he so clearly and convincingly showed the absurdity of mixing medicines and enjoined simplicity in prescriptions. The reviewer does not give Hahnemann one word of approbation for this, but blames him for rejecting an electuary of valerian, cinchona and sal-ammoniac, as both the worst way to administer it and an unhappy combination. "Both theory and experience," so says the reviewer, "are in favour of this combination," and strong doses are likewise necessary.

In 1805 the article entitled *Medicine of Experience* ap-

* Jena und Leipzig, 1800, Vol. I., p. 201.

peared in Hufeland's *Journal*.* Though the author in 1796 still held to a large extent the ordinary views, the peculiarity of his ideas is here more prominently given. It is evident that he had reflected and worked hard during the past nine years. He advances his views with much greater confidence, and insists on the necessity of proving medicines in order to ascertain the finest shades of their specific relations to the several parts of the body, and to use them when those same structures are similarly affected upon which they act specifically. It must be clearly understood, and we therefore call attention to it, that he did not seek for specific remedies against certain definite pathologico-anatomical forms of disease, nor yet such as act on certain organs, as Rademacher proposed; he expressly protested against this. His idea was to trace the effects of medicines up to the ultimate perceptible phenomena.

The first collection of the effects of medicines on healthy organisms, according to his own observations and those of others was, as is well known, published in the work, *Fragmēta de viribus medicamentorum*, 1805. He himself indicates its character by calling it "fragmēta," and he by no means concealed from himself the defects of this first attempt, which were also pointed out by the critics. This was, at any rate, the first undertaking of the sort, and was meritorious on this account; a reviewer† characterised it as "a remarkably interesting and meritorious work." Augustin‡ called it "the results of some excellent experiments on the effects of medicines on the human organism."

Hahnemann's *Medicine of Experience*, the forerunner of the *Organon*, met with the following reception in the *Med. chir. Zeitung* (III. p. 25), 1806:—

No great benefit, either to the theorist or the practitioner, is to be obtained from this diffuse treatise of 99 pages full of paradoxes. Hahnemann appears to have no idea of medical science in its highest sense for he confines it entirely to the senses. Every disease,

* *Lesser Writings*, 497.

† Hufeland's *Bibliothek*, XVI., p. 181.

‡ *Wissenschaftl. Uebers. der ges. med. chir. Literatur des Jahres 1805*, p. 409.

according to him, is produced by some special unnatural irritation, and in order to cure diseases we have nothing to do according to Dr. Hahnemann, but to oppose to it another morbific agent of very similar action. Such is his idea of the action of remedies ! But enough of this !

In the year 1807 Hahnemann wrote the article in Hufeland's *Journal, Fingerzeige auf den homöopathischen Gebrauch der Arzneyen in der bishерigen Praxis.* This was also unfavourably criticised in the *Med. chir. Zeitung* (1808, II. p. 147), because Hahnemann only paid attention to symptoms: "Such things are learnt incidentally by every father of a family." The instances adduced are said to be vague, and often to prove the principle "contraria contrariis." The reviewer uses the expression "homœopathic," without hesitation.

Hahnemann's endeavours did not produce the effect they should have done, his proposals to prove medicines methodically in order to ascertain their specific action on one's own body, remained without result. This was also the case with his further proposal to use as simple prescriptions as possible, and not to repeat a dose until the former one has exhausted its effect, so that the knowledge of the manner and extent of the operation of remedies may, by means of united efforts and a rational mode of procedure, be firmly grounded and extended. The old routine practice went on as before. In 1808 he attacked the traditional mode of treatment in a series of articles in the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen*, and powerfully exposed the miserable character of medicine as then practised. We have above quoted some passages from them. These articles were almost all anonymous, and were mostly rejoinders to previous articles from the pen of other physicians; so that there is no foundation for the accusation that Hahnemann was actuated by unworthy motives or unprofessional conduct in writing in this paper—an absurd reproach which his opponents are in the habit of casting upon him with greater frequency and venomence the farther his day recedes from our own.

[The author proceeds to show by a series of quotations from and references to articles that were published between 1801 and 1822 in this

paper (which was first published under the title of *Der Anzeiger*, then as *Der Reichsanzeiger*, and finally from 1806 as *Der allgemeine Anzeiger der Deutschen*) that medical men of the highest rank frequently made use of it to carry on medical controversies with one another, to publish hospital statistics, to recommend special modes of treatment for special diseases, and even to trumpet their own nostrums and offer them for sale. Some of these medical contributors were the most illustrious physicians of the day, occupying the most exalted positions, such as Court Physicians, Medicinalraths, Høfraths, Professors of Universities and Chief Physicians and Surgeons of various hospitals. The names of many of them are still remembered in medicine, such as Hufeland, Professor Juncker of Halle, Professor Kreysig of Wittenberg, Professor Harless of Erlangen, Professor Feiler of Altdorf, Dr. von Bernard, physician in ordinary to the King of Bavaria, Professor J. B. von Siebold, head surgeon of the Julius Hospital, Würzburg, Professor Kieser of Jena, Professor Löbenstein-Löbel of Jena, Hofrath Dr. Fenner, Medicinalrath Dr. Wendelstadt, Professor Dzondi of Halle, and many others of equal rank and renown. The treatment recommended by these coryphæi of old physic would stagger the most ardent advocate of heroic treatment of our days. One renowned doctor, "perhaps the greatest and most experienced authority on the diseases of children of all times," as an enthusiastic colleague describes him, earnestly recommends his colleagues to treat all cases of croup with leeches and blisters, "as these," he says, "are the best, indeed the only remedies for the disease." A learned professor recommends all doctors and attendants in hospitals where infectious diseases are treated, "to establish issues in both arms, and keep them constantly discharging," in order to keep them from catching these diseases. A doctor enjoying an important municipal post, strongly advises typhoid fever to be treated with purgatives and emetics given every day, "for most patients feel strengthened after this medicinal stimulation." The same professor who advised issues as prophylactics against infectious diseases further recommends for protection against the prevailing typhus epidemic, besides issues, blood-letting, emetics and purgatives. Another doctor, the President of the Bavarian Medical Board, counsels all his colleagues, "who have the welfare of their patients at heart," to employ frequent venesects and anti-phlogistics in typhus, because he is convinced that it is an "inflammation of the brain." One blood-thirsty enthusiast calls on the State to compel doctors to resort to instant blood-letting in inflammatory diseases. A distinguished Professor recommends his own machine for the cure of spinal curvature, and begs the editor to speak a word for it. One doctor promises to reveal his discovery of the nature of yellow fever if only one thousand persons will subscribe half-a-thaler each. A professor professes to cure all agues in old or young by means of glue. An Inspector-General of hospitals denounces the treatment of syphilis with mercury, and calls upon "all medical men

in the kingdom" to treat it with a mixture of cream of tartar, cinnamon, opium and ammonia. Another doctor offers for sale a nostrum for syphilis which he says he has discovered. Thus, it will be seen that Hahnemann did nothing unprofessional or unusual in publishing medical articles in this daily paper, which was not political, but was the organ through which scientific and literary men of all sorts were accustomed to interchange ideas. But what a contrast do Hahnemann's contributions offer to those of his colleagues. It was in this paper that he published between 1801 and 1821 that series of interesting and original essays, which will be found translated in the *Lesser Writings*. Their titles are: *View of Professional Liberality at the commencement of the 19th Century*; *On a proposed remedy for Hydrophobia*; *Objections to a proposed substitute for Cinchona Bark*; *Observations on Scarlet Fever*; *On the present want of Foreign Medicines*; *On the value of the Speculative Systems of Medicine*; *On substitutes for Foreign Drugs*; *On the Regeneration of Medicine*; *Address to a Candidate for the degree of M.D.*; *On the prevailing Fever*; *Signs of the times in Ordinary Medicine*; *On the Treatment of Typhus*; —of Burns; —of Venereal Diseases; —of *Purpura Miliaris*.—ED.]

In the first half of the year 1810, Hahnemann's *Organon of Rational Medicine* appeared. It was criticised in July of the same year by A. F. Hecker.* All Hahnemann's exaggerations and mistakes were clearly exposed, but the good was rejected together with the bad. This critique reveals the personal irritation of the writer. Here is one example—Hahnemann, in the *Organon*, incidentally blames Hecker for having used "various mixtures" of medicines. Hecker remarks (p. 228, note): It was in a case of caries. 'I used only (1) a simple solution of corrosive sublimate in distilled water with liq. myrrh. (2) Powders for internal use of calomel, sulphuret of antimony and sugar. (3) Some purgatives of calomel mixed with jalap on account of a good many thread-worms. Greater simplicity was impossible, moreover a cure was soon effected. Whoever calls the remedies used 'various mixtures of medicines' *lies*" (the "lies" printed prominently to attract special attention).

* *Annalen der gesammten Medicin*, Vol. II., pp. 31 and 193.

Here were five remedies used at the same time, and yet "greater simplicity was impossible." Anyone not acquainted with the medical literature of that time, can form from this an idea of the usual prescriptions when they were *not* simple, and this was usually the case.

In the *Allg. med. Annalen des 19 Jahrhunderts*, a simple reference was made to the *Organon* in Nov. 1810, with the following introduction:—

The system of rational medicine which Hahnemann has unfolded in this work deserves to be favourably judged because the author has been known for more than 20 years as a thoughtful physician and a good observer, who has laboured with unwearied energy to establish and confirm his previously stated opinions, and at the same time he has maintained his reputation as a skilful and successful practitioner. Of course this does not prove the validity of his statements, nor should it influence the unbiassed judgment of the reader. The saying: *opinionum commenta delet dies* remains eternally true.

In 1811, a full criticism appeared in the January number of the *Med. chir. Zeitung*. This journal answered the same purpose as Schmidt's *Fahrbiucher* does now; it contained criticisms of the whole of medical literature. The most prominent physicians of Germany were among its contributors. Unfortunately the reviews appeared anonymously.

The reviewer begins by blaming the great self-sufficiency with which Hahnemann comes forward and looks down upon his colleagues. The proofs he adduces of his principle are not sufficient; Hahnemann pays too much attention to symptoms. "How can that be rational where there is no question of thought, and where nothing but observation by means of the senses is required." Strict individualisation is good, but it may be carried too far. The keeping of a carefully-conducted clinical journal which Hahnemann recommends is very difficult in ordinary practice. "Every disease represents a special process, which like every other natural process, runs its own fixed course."*

* P. 92. Virchow in his *Oration on Schönlein* (pp. 22 and 67), asserts that the expression "morbid process" was first employed in 1824 by Stark in a clear and lucid manner. This, and other passages show that this statement is not correct.

In certain cases, where by supporting the vital energy the process of healing in the direction taken by nature can be furthered and brought to a more speedy conclusion, the homœopathic principle may, in the opinion of the reviewer, prove useful, but it can never be the chief principle of medicine.

The reviewer has quite a different estimation of the work in its relation to pharmacology. The experiments of the author, made with medicines on healthy persons and their results may have a very important influence on this branch of medicine.

The review is written in a very calm style, in spite of Hahnemann's attacks on the ordinary practice.

A second review appeared in the following number of the same journal which likewise blames the vehement tone of the author and opposes the mode adopted of establishing the new principle of cure. "Who would not have expected better logic from a man who has in other ways done so much for medicine? *Similia similibus curantur* is a maxim which no rational physician of any experience will deny, but it is to be accepted, not in Hahnemann's sense as a universal therapeutic rule, but only in special cases to which we are guided not by rational, but by empirical medicine. Hahnemann's idea would, doubtless, have been gratefully received by the medical public if he had announced it as applicable only in certain cases and not universally." After refuting certain theories of Hahnemann's, the following judgment is passed:—

The reviewer must admit that in these 222 pages the author has expressed many fine ideas, and has displayed much originality, but it is a pity that their application is too general, and that he attempts to prove that his homœopathic system is universally applicable. If the intelligent reader draws correct conclusions he will lay down the book not altogether without having derived some satisfaction from its perusal. The reviewer desires further to ask this question, which concerns medical jurisprudence: Is this mode of procedure which Hahnemann here teaches, to make experiments with all sorts of drugs (even poisons) on healthy human beings, in order to obtain a rational *materia medica* according to homœopathic principles, quite allowable?

This reviewer, too, preserves a judicious calm. Both reviews avoid touching on the question of doses.

Hahnemann answered none of these reviews, but remarked

upon his opponents' statements, without personally attacking them (with one single exception in which he was provoked to do so)—a fact which is important in forming our judgment of Hahnemann—in a subsequent edition of the *Organon*, as well as in the introductory remarks to the provings of medicines in the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*.

His son, Dr. Frederick Hahnemann, published a *Refutation of Hecker's Attacks* (Dresden, 1811.) Indeed, even an opponent of Hahnemann, Professor Puchelt, condemned Hecker's virulence.* He complains of "the dogmatic and contemptuous criticisms of homœopathy in some of the journals"—he probably alluded to the *Neues Journal der Erfindungen &c. in der Medicin*, Vol. I., St. 3, which, soon after the appearance of the *Organon*, published a violent criticism similar to that in the *Annalen*—and he strongly condemns Hecker's criticism. "Hecker merely attacks and does not appreciate or do justice to Hahnemann's doctrine. He who wishes to judge fairly of an opinion must not hold the opposite one to be unconditionally true."

Puchelt's review of homœopathy in Hufeland's *Journal* did not appear until 1819—nine years after Hecker's criticism. Up to that time Hahnemann's views are only mentioned incidentally in this journal. Thus in 1810 a doctor mentions† that in Karlsbad and the neighbourhood sufferers from diarrhoea had taken a glass of hot spring water with very good effect, and he calls this an illustration of Hahnemann's therapeutic principle. Two years later‡ the same thing happened when arsenic was mentioned as a remedy in intermittent fever. About the same time§ a physician protests against Hahnemann's demands for simplicity of medical treatment and during these eight years no one took up the pen in support of Hahnemann's opposition to the mixing of remedies. Prescriptions remained just as long, and the hotch-potch of remedies continued to flourish. The efficacy

* Hufeland's *Journal*, 1819, St. 6, p. 10.

† Vol. XXXI., St. 9, p. 75.

‡ Vol. XXXV., St. 11, p. 94.

§ Vol. XXXIV., St. 5, p. 88.

of belladonna in scarlet fever, recommended by Hahnemann, is called attention to in various passages, and in 1812 Hufeland writes in a note: * "It certainly deserves continued and careful investigation. For to be deterred by the infinitesimal smallness of the doses is to forget that here we have to do with a dynamic, *i.e.*, living action, which cannot be weighed by pounds and grains. Is to dilute always to weaken? Does not dilution often cause new developments and an increased display of the more delicate properties?"

In the same year † Hofrath Schenk, of Siegen, publishes passages from a letter of Hahnemann's. Schenk asked for advice as to the use of belladonna in scarlet fever. Hahnemann sent three grains of an extract prepared by himself "because the officinal extracts are often very uncertain and their properties are often destroyed by the heat of the fire, &c.," and gave information as to its further preparation. "I was exhorted to try to overcome any incredulity arising from the smallness of the dose; it was rather too large than too small, for we had at present no idea of the force residing in powerful medicines." Schenk here expresses his thanks to Hahnemann for his readiness in sending him the belladonna, and gives an account of the very favourable results produced by this remedy in a prevalent epidemic.

Hahnemann's inaugural thesis, published at Leipzig, *De Helleborismo Veterum*, ‡ was favourably noticed in many places. "Though the action of veratrum may not be so beneficial as the author thinks, he has nevertheless rendered a further service by collecting all the data referring historically to this method of treatment, and he here gives a complete historical account of it; such a work as the present has all the more interest because similar works are rare. The first traces of the use of ver. alb. are to be found 1,500 years before Christ," &c. § Another reviewer ||

* Vol. XXXIV., St. 5, p. 120.

† Vol. XXXIV., St. 5, p. 120.

‡ *Lesser Writings*, p. 644.

§ *Med. chir. Ztg.*, XIX., p. 234.

|| *Allg. med. Annalen das 19 Jahrh.*, 1812, p. 1053.

calls the thesis "an interesting contribution to the history of medicine..... collected with care and in a critical spirit." A third* considers it a very "thorough treatise." Professor Choulant is stated to have said that this work displays great learning—an opinion that every reader will confirm.

In 1812 Kranzfelder wrote, *Symbola ad criticen novæ theoriæ, Homœopathicæ dictæ, Erlangæ 1812*, a work directed against Hahnemann, which seems to have excited no attention.

Hahnemann stated publicly in 1813† that homœopathy in the space of three years had found so "many estimable adherents and practitioners." If we hesitate to believe the testimony of the first homœopaths that his teaching had spread rapidly among students and doctors, this is nevertheless manifest from an article by Professor Clarus, of the Faculty of Leipzig,‡ who opposes the opinion of his colleagues, that Hahnemann's lectures should be suppressed by force. Science should be free. "I conclude these remarks with the wish that a proposal, which I advanced long since, may, notwithstanding its difficulties, be carried out, viz., to test Hahnemann's doctrines by a commission composed of scientifically trained doctors, and with the co-operation of Dr. Hahnemann himself, in a hospital." The difficulties must have been on the side of the allopaths, for Hahnemann often expressed a wish for a hospital. We shall see later how Clarus saw fit to change his opinion. We here pass over the political journals—the *Leipziger Zeitung*, and the *Hamburger Correspondent*—which also confirm the spread of homœopathy, although they do not espouse Hahnemann's side.

The vehemence of the contest advanced *pari passu* with the spread of homœopathy. The allopaths and the apothecaries of Leipzig were on one side, Hahnemann and his adherents on the other, and the public espoused the

* Augustin, *Wissenschaft. Uebers. d. ges. med. chir. Literatur*, 1812, p. 337.

† *Allg. Anz. d. Deutschen*, 1813, p. 634, note.

‡ *Huf. Journ.*, 41, St. 4, p. 112.

cause of one side or the other. The contest found its way into the political papers of Leipzic, into the beershops, into the domestic circles, and reached its climax when Prince Schwarzenberg, the winner of the battle of Leipzic, consulted Hahnemann. The latter had been requested by the Prince to come to Prague to give him the benefit of his advice. Hahnemann declined this, and invited the patient to take up his abode in Leipzic. So he travelled there to be treated by Hahnemann. He had had several attacks of apoplexy and suffered from a heart disease. Certainly the Field-Marshal improved under Hahnemann's treatment; he was able to go out for regular walks. Dr. Jos. Edler von Sax, and other allopaths, declared that Hahnemann neglected to employ "powerful measures," and that he was responsible for hastening the Prince's death. Some time before the fatal termination of the illness Hahnemann visited the patient, accompanied by Dr. Marenzeller who had been sent from Vienna, and found the allopaths employed in making a venesection. After that he never visited the patient again, as Dr. Argenti relates.† Unfortunately I am unable to ascertain how often the bleeding was repeated. Five weeks later, on the 15th October, 1820, the Prince died. Clarus remarks: "On the same day, and nearly at the same hour, his solemn funeral procession passed along the same road as that on which he had made his triumphal entrance seven years before."

The post-mortem examination, which was most minute and thorough, revealed several apoplectic foci. "The size of the heart is uniformly increased to double the normal, and at the same time the walls of the right ventricle of the heart are attenuated and those of the left enormously thickened. The valves of the heart are not ossified but extremely thin and delicate." The art. coronar., hepato- and splenica, as well as the ascending aorta, showed "traces of commencing ossification." The report was

† *Hom. Behandlung der Krankheiten*, 2nd edit., Presburg und Leipzig, 1820, p. 22.

signed and sealed by Clarus, Dr. von Sax, Dr. Samuel Hahnemann and Prosector Dr. Aug. Carl Bock.

It is easy then to judge whether the attack of Hahnemann's opponents on account of his neglect of blood-letting was justified. But anyhow they had the majority on their side. Doctors and chemists at length contrived to obtain the prohibition of Hahnemann's dispensing his own medicines, and he, therefore, left Leipzig for Cöthen.

The constant spread of homœopathy caused its opponents to take greater notice of it in a literary way than previously. In 1819, Dr. Bischoff's pamphlet, which has been already quoted, appeared, and in it the neglect of blood-letting is severely condemned, as is also "the general tone of the *Organon*, which is not worthy the importance of the subject," and many of Hahnemann's theories are scouted. He particularly mentions Hahnemann's former services to medicine, and commends Hahnemann's mode of preparing medicines (p. 120), as well as his proving of drugs. "This part of the work is always valuable" (p. 117). He rejects the homœopathic system, and lauds (in the preface and later) "the method of the ordinary system of medicine which by the labours of physicians is of so much benefit to mankind." The views of the author on the subject of blood-letting will be given by-and-bye.

The same year saw the publication of Prof. Puchelt's treatise in Hufeland's *Journal* (a. a. O.) "It is the aim and object of this article to criticise Hahnemann's homœopathy which has recently spread so much among the younger doctors and has begun to gain a certain amount of acceptance among the non-medical public. A more complete examination of this system seems to me to be specially well-timed, as very little has been hitherto done in this direction." He then condemns Hecker's hostile attacks. He severely criticises Hahnemann's contempt for the sciences auxiliary to medicine (and in this even Hahnemann's adherents soon joined him), and opposes some theories in Hahnemann's *Organon*, on which, however, no stress had been laid by Hahnemann himself, and which even his most faithful disciples have rejected. He blames

Hahnemann for forming a system and despising everything else in medicine. He proposes to use homœopathy in the case of "dynamic" affections and in such organic diseases as arise from "derangement of the nervous system." "I should like to know Hahnemann's opinion on this modification of his therapeutic principle.....For the rest, we heartily wish that homœopathy, if it once becomes allied with scientific medicine, may have a still greater influence [what influence had it at that time?] in producing greater simplicity and moderation in the use of medicines."

What he says about the personal feeling of allopaths towards Hahnemann explains so well the cause of their inveterate hostility that we must let the author speak for himself.

However contradictory it may appear at first sight to attempt to cure diseases by remedies which produce similar effects, it must be admitted that the paradox disappears when more careful consideration is given to the question than has hitherto been usually given by the opponents of homœopathy. I believe, indeed, that the system would not have met with so much opposition, that, on the contrary, it would even have been accepted and employed by a great number of physicians, if Hahnemann had not declared open war upon the whole existing medical art, for every one who has lived and worked in it, knows it is *not* so entirely built on sand as Hahnemann maintains.

It would be possible to quote here from the first allopathic "authorities" any time during the last forty years, quite as strong a condemnation of the allopathic therapeutics as Hahnemann's, though perhaps not stated in such impassioned terms as they were not engaged in an animated controversy as he was.

If he had not allowed himself to be borne away by the rage, which twenty years ago, was very common among the best men, for reforming the whole science and destroying everything that was old; if he had yielded less to the spirit of opposition which led him to take up a position of antagonism to other medical men, he would have met with a more cordial reception, and would have been more practically useful.

In what follows, the feeling of personal irritation displayed by the allopaths is still more clearly shown:—

With the hostile attitude assumed by him towards other doctors, some self-effacement is required to attain the point of view from which he may be justly judged, and what is useful extracted from his teach-

ing ; we are apt to be prejudiced against him by many offensive expressions, which indeed may have been deserved by some, but certainly not by all the thoughtful physicians against whom they were directed. [Hahnemann's principal therapeutic charges were directed against all allopaths of the period without exception]. This excited a prejudice against him which it was necessary to overcome before a calm judgment could be arrived at becoming a seeker after truth. This power of self-control is not possessed by all, and least of all by those who most deserve the reproach of writing careless prescriptions. The latter act as Hahnemann does with the whole of medicine, they reject the good with the bad, and throw all on one side because some few things do not please them.

The author's characterisation of the medicine of that day shall not be kept back from the reader, because it serves to indicate a phase in the history of medicine, and is also of importance for our purpose. "We live now in a time in which most systems are blended and united. The mechanical and chemical views of the organism [we must remember the condition of physiological chemistry in 1819] have united, are subordinated to, or collocated with the dynamico-vital view. The humoral and solidary theories are amalgamated, and have resolved themselves into the idea of the reciprocal action of the solid and fluid portions of the organism." From this sentence we seem to be transported into our own times, but the next brings us back into the good old times. "The evacuating and stimulating, depleting and fortifying, and many other conflicting methods of treatment dwell peacefully side by side in general therapeutics, and mutually limit one another ; all are used by our contemporaries in various diseases, though one may prefer one method—another another." Here the entire unsoundness of the allopathy of that period is indirectly admitted.

In 1822, the first homœopathic periodical appeared, *Archiv für die hom. Heilkunst*, edited by Dr. E. Staph, and later by Staph and Gross. In the same year, the allopath, Jörg, published his *Kritische Hefte für Aerzte und Wundärzte* (Leipzig bei Knobloch), in which he attacked the *Organon* and the homœopathic provings of drugs.

At the same time Dr. Groh published a criticism of Hahnemann's system in Oken's periodical *Isis* (1822, p. 120), and he characterises it as a doctrine "acting like a breath

of poisonous air on the blossom of medicine, which was beginning to unfold after its long winter sleep." But he was no blind antagonist. He accepted a great deal, and owned that Hahnemann had taught "much that was good and true" in the *Organon*. He calls him an "earnest thinker, one of the best physicians of our time."

He considered it "very praiseworthy" in Hahnemann to call attention to the necessity of individualisation. He blames the large number of medical men who neglect this counsel, and compares them with the knights errant. "I would like to see these *practici errantes*, many of whom have been robbing their suffering fellow creatures of blood and money to the disgrace of scientific Germany, follow these and other teachings of the, in many respects, conscientious Hahnemann, as slavishly as they can." The reason why the critic considered Hahnemann "conscientious in some respects" only, is very soon seen. Hahnemann rejected bloodletting in inflammation of the lungs, inflammation of the brain, croup, etc., as also calomel in large doses, and that was unpardonable. In speaking of the mode of employing remedies "he unwillingly omits to mention (on account of lack of space) the praiseworthy matter contained in this section," and he says, with reference to Hahnemann's proposed method of discovering the curative properties of medicines by testing them on healthy organisms, "I rejoice to have arrived at a point where Hahnemann's services to medicine become conspicuous."....."He had a profound insight into the inner springs of life when he advanced or confirmed the principle that with regard to the action of drugs as with everything in life there are alternating states."....."It is to be hoped that Hahnemann may continue on in the path he has begun to tread, though his *materia medica* may still be a *rudis indigestaque moles*."

As the same kinds of attacks on the part of his opponents were constantly repeated during the following years, it is not worth while to give more of them in detail. We need only mention that such attacks became more and more vehement.

In 1824, there appeared: *Works of Darkness in the Domain of Homœopathy*, brought to light by Dr. Th.....,

and *Authentication of the Facts mentioned in the 'Works of Darkness,'* by the same author, Altenburg. These contained nothing but idle gossip, untruths and personal attacks on the homœopaths of Leipzig, but they are welcome as furnishing evidence of the method of attack pursued by the allopaths. Under the pseudonym "Dr. Th....." was concealed the personality of a Dr. Meissner, who appears in the text in the third person as a witness. Even a few allopaths deprecated such conduct,* and he was cited before the tribunals and punished.

Hofrath and Physicus Dr. Rau, an old and respected physician, wrote in 1824, *On the Value of Homœopathic Treatment*, in which he exposed the weak sides of Hahnemann's theory, but declared himself in accord with his therapeutic principles. This work and Rau's high reputation attracted many physicians to homœopathy.

"Rau was already well known as a thoughtful man," according to Schmidt's *Fahrbiicher* (Vol. 7, p. 164), and it is added that he only turned to homœopathy after a practice of twenty-two years and tested it for twelve years before defending it publicly.

From this time onwards pamphlets and counter-pamphlets appeared in such numbers that it would be a wearisome and profitless task to examine each individually. We will only mention in connexion with this period, a book by Professor L. W. Sachs, of Königsberg, *A Final Word on S. Hahnemann's Homœopathic System*, in which Hahnemann is compared to the devil. (Leipzig, 1826, p. 52.)

There is no fault, no error in the devil, he *is* out and out the false, the reprobate, the lying one. Now, the homœopathic system does not suffer from errors (if such could be shown in it, that would redound to its honour !), it is not impregnated with false notions (such could be refuted, corrected, minimised and changed into true ones) it is not illogical (it must in that case be logical in some places, it must have some internal coherence:—but it has no more than a heap of sand) it has not the faults possessed by any other system, no human weakness, but it is contrary to all our conceptions, to all laws of thought, and all the results of experience; it scorns all Nature's teaching,

* Augustin, *L.c.*, 1824, p. 334.

mocks at reason, excludes all truth. It cannot be said of it, as Polonius says of Hamlet's madness, "there is method in it."

On the other hand, the advantages reaped by the allopaths from Hahnemann's researches are evident. Jörg published in 1825, *Materials for a future Materia Medica, obtained by Experiments on Healthy Persons*, Leipzig. He instituted these experiments with the help of students, and arrives at the conclusion Hahnemann came to more than twenty years previously, viz., that medical men have little or no knowledge of the positive effects of medicines. In the course of this work we shall see how certain of Hahnemann's teachings begin to take effect, even in the camp of his opponents.

Hufeland's *Journal* was distinguished by the fact that in it the combat was carried on with decency. Hufeland himself seems to have zealously occupied himself with homœopathy for several years. In the year 1826 (St. 1. p. 20 u.f.) he thus formulates his views :—

Advantages of Homœopathy.

1. It calls attention to the necessary individualisation of cases.*
2. It will help to give a proper importance to diet.
3. Will do away with large doses.
4. Will lead to simplicity in prescribing medicines.
5. "It will lead to a more exact testing and knowledge of the effect of drugs on the living subject, as it has already done."
6. The homœopathic system will direct more attention to the preparation of medicines and will lead to a stricter supervision of the apothecaries.
7. It can never do positive harm.
8. It will give time to the diseased organism to recover itself quietly and uninterruptedly.†

* This is a confession that medical men neglected this requisite, as do the allopaths of our time.

† It gives the diseased organism the physiological impulse to curative action, without complicating the natural disease with a medicinal disease.

9. "It will diminish in an extraordinary degree the expense of treatment."

Disadvantages.

1. It may prevent rational treatment.*
2. Would have an injurious effect upon the study of medicine, as was the case with the systems of Brown and Broussais.†
3. Would cause sins of omission.‡
4. Would constitute an attack on the fundamental principles of all good medical police.§
5. Deprives physicians by its maxims of their respect for and trust in the healing power of Nature, to which, however, the homœopath gives full play. (?)

Hufeland writes, in reference to the dispensing of medicines by the physician :—

The writer by no means fails to recognise that there are two sides to the question, and he believes that on this subject he is entitled to give an opinion, as during the first ten years of his practice he dispensed his medicines himself; it being then the custom in Weimar. He knows by experience that a medical man gives medicines prepared by himself with much greater certainty and confidence, and that while preparing them many new and happy thoughts may strike him which he can use for the benefit of his patients, just as they do every artist who prepares the instruments of his own art.....The patient gains by the diminution in expense; indeed, he thinks that it may be accepted as a self-evident proposition, that it is more to the interest of the physician to have reliable medicines, and his conscience is more concerned in the matter than is the case with the apothecary. But the monopoly of the apothecaries offers, on the whole, greater security,|| especially the check on doctors through their prescriptions.¶ I advise a union in both these respects, so that the doctor should prepare

* What is rational?

† Right for that time.

‡ Blood-letting and emetics!

§ The dispensing of medicines by the practitioner!

|| The apothecary gains more money.

¶ Are medical practitioners, then, conscienceless poisoners? How often do not the apothecaries make fatal mistakes, which would have been impossible for the doctors.

his medicines, or cause them to be prepared, and should then give them to the apothecary to dispense.*

The following is Hufeland's opinion concerning homœopathic preparations :

With regard to the purely dynamic effect of remedies as accepted by homœopaths, no one can believe more fully in that than the author, as he has often expressed in his writings. That every effect produced on the living organism, and therefore also the effect of every remedy, is an *actio viva*, has long been my principle.....That in the case of many volatile substances an almost infinite divisibility, far beyond all ponderability, is compatible with a continued efficacy is shown us in the case of musk. A few grains of this substance are able to perfume the air of a whole room, so that every atom smells of musk and must, therefore, contain some particles of musk, certainly not stronger than the trillionth dilution, and yet the musk does not lose in weight. It has long been observed in the case of ipecacuanha that the smallest doses, $\frac{1}{12}$ th or $\frac{1}{16}$ th grain rubbed up with sugar, acquire very great and even new powers. Might not then other volatile substances, particularly narcotics, possess a similar, almost endless divisibility, and yet continue to be able to act on the organism? This is certainly a question that deserves investigation.†

To have been the first to call attention to the increase of efficacy by the increase of the points of contact by solution in a fluid or by long continued trituration, is undoubtedly a merit of Hahnemann's, and deserves thanks.

In the same year (St. 1, p. 29-60) a detailed account is given of homœopathic cures by Dr. Messerschmidt, of Naumburg, and he pursues the subject later on in St. 2, pages 59-102. Rummel contributes a polemical article on the homœopathic side (St. 5, p. 57-74), and a longer article on homœopathy (St. 3, p. 43-74). Dr. Widnmann, of Munich, blames the bad and praises the good sides of homœopathy (in the April number of 1827), and writes on the same subject in 1828 (St. 2, p. 3-41).

In the year 1828, Dr. Ant. Fried. Fischer, of Dresden, wrote an article in the same journal *On some Defects of Allopathy, with Remarks on the Homœopathic Method of Treatment.*‡

* Then patients exist for the benefit of the apothecary?

† But still waits for it, as far as the allopaths are concerned.

‡ Huf. Journ., 1828, St. 2, p. 42-60.

There is first the subject of diet, to which the homœopaths assert that allopathy does not give sufficient attention.

If we observe the practice of many allopaths, the discovery is involuntarily forced upon us that frequently even where the therapeutic treatment is most *secundum artem*, much too little attention is paid to diet. This fact must have been often observed by every attentive and impartial physician, for opportunities are not wanting, and this to such a degree that this lack of attention to diet has often astonished even thoughtful non-professionals, and has caused them to become converts to Hahnemann's doctrines. In vain do we attempt to point out to them the slippery and insecure foundation of his system, for they are far too enlightened to credit any of our teaching with a firm and stable foundation. What do our scientific explanations matter to them? they have seen how in a brief space of time one system succeeds another; how the *a priori* assumptions and assertions even of the most learned doctors are quickly refuted by experience and shown to be untrue. Attracted by the simplicity of homœopathy, the practical application of which is neither unpleasant to the palate nor burdensome to the purse, the well regulated and strict diet enjoined by homœopathy induces them to lend a willing ear to the new doctrine.

This, however, they would not, according to the author, have done, if allopaths had paid greater attention to diet—a subject on which the author dilates. In the strict diet of the adherents of the homœopathic system we may see "how powerful is the influence of physicians who are resolute and confident in their principles and in themselves.Even if it is entirely irrational, yet the very follies of this school should admonish us to make an earnest searching examination of our therapeutic treatment. And here it may be mentioned that our pharmaceutical prescriptions are much too composite. Only a few of us really strive after simplicity in prescribing. Our prescriptions ought to be chemically correct and as simple as possible, if they are not to be the laughing stock of homœopaths and the jest of all well-educated people.....Until then we cannot be surprised if educated laymen, and especially those who have a knowledge of natural science, make merry over the *mixtum compositum* of our prescriptions.....The so-called magistral formulas cannot be excluded from investigation.....A mode of treatment simplified in this manner would redound to the credit of our art, and would prevent Hahnemann's

bait from attracting any more deserters, and would contribute to gain more respect for the art among thoughtful students of medicine."

"The constant changing of medicines," the author continues, "is likewise a sign of indecision, and in this particular, too, we must learn from homœopathy."

Homœopaths do not bleed, and God only knows how they arrive at the desired result in those cases where bleeding is the only mode by which we can expect to save the patient! There are many laymen who do not like bleeding, and these go over to the homœopaths. We must therefore obviate the necessity of blood-letting by means of a regimen which does not conduce to the formation of blood.....We possess in oxy-muriatic acid an agent best calculated to alter the crasis of the blood and to subdue its orgasm; but we must not be sparing of it but must administer it in the greatest quantities as a drink. It is a pity that this acid never quite loses its peculiar coaly smell.....

Only thus does it seem to me to be possible to convince the educated part of our fellow-citizens of the reliability of our method of treatment.....

The medical man who acts according to homœopathic principles prepares his medicaments to a great extent himself; it is most important to him that the simple remedies which he alone has brought into use should not only be prepared with the greatest care, but should also be promptly administered.

With us the preparation of medicines leaves much to be desired.....

The apothecary, therefore, should be an experienced chemist and a good botanist, qualities which are not always found singly, much less in combination, in the same person. This must be mended.....If we had arrived at this, we also, like Hahnemann, should be able to give our patient a guarantee of the purity, excellence and freshness of our medicines, and no longer would there be occasion for the witticisms of those who are eager to find fault with the allopathic method of treatment.

Hufeland then again expresses his opinion on the subject of homœopathy :

After repeated trials, and a careful collection of evidence, and after proper consideration of the objections, I hold the same opinion concerning it as I expressed two years ago.

I have seen many successful and indeed highly surprising cures brought about by its means, chiefly in chronic nervous complaints, where other kinds of treatment had been tried in vain.

But I have also seen unsuccessful cases, and many which lasted longer and were more tedious than they would have been if other modes of treatment had been employed.....

The chief fault to be found with it however is the neglect of those two most important means of saving life—bleeding and emetics, which it is impossible to replace, and for the neglect of which nothing can afterwards make up.

The histories of two cases are given. A child had croup. The homœopath gave hep. sulph. and within twenty-four hours the symptoms of croup disappeared, but the next day capillary bronchitis supervened and the child died. “The child would probably have lived if leeches had been applied at the beginning by means of which the inflammatory diathesis would have been stopped.” (No one now would agree with the honourable and well-intentioned Hufeland, any more than they would recognise the correctness of the following view): Another child had “erysipelas of the face,” and this disappeared under homœopathic treatment; but an abscess formed, it would “probably” have been prevented by the application of leeches.

It would be as wrong to make homœopathy the universal system of treatment, and not to use what is really good and true in it, as to discard it altogether. Let us welcome it as a new method of curin disease, but subordinate it to the approved rules of a rational mode of treatment.....Let its task be to discover new specifics against individual diseases.....No homœopathic art of medicine, but a homœopathic method in rational medicine !

Dr. Fischer, of Dresden, quoted above, appears soon to have altered his temperate view of homœopathy into the very opposite. He wrote in the following year (1829, Dresden), an indignant pamphlet, entitled, *Homœopathy before the Judgment Seat of Common Sense*. The good recognised by the author a year before in Hufeland’s *Journal*, has marvellously shrunk in this book, which is a “text book of instruction for educated people,” for, “even among a public claiming to be highly educated, as is the case in my beloved native town [Dresden, where among other homœopaths, Trinks and P. Wolf practised], homœopathy is making rapid and bold strides.”.....“The most shameless bragging of a boastful homœopath.”

Allopaths could not understand how homœopaths can be so shameless as to assert that many diseases can be

more easily cured under homœopathic treatment than under the irrational treatment by blood-letting.

Notwithstanding all attacks on the philosophical elaboration of the science of medicine, it stands firm and radiant in immortal ethereal splendour in the everlasting mansion of sublime intelligence, shedding forth life-giving and fertilising beams over all branches of knowledge and culture. That which prejudiced contemporaries dare to mock at will be honoured and cherished by a wiser posterity, as containing the ideas and principles of true wisdom.

He is indignant at the idea of dispensing with bleeding, which is hallowed by the experience of 1000 years.

It is a humiliating and shameful thought that Saxony is the birth-place of this false doctrine, and Dresden the principal arena of the homœopaths. [The Leipzic allopaths were in the habit of complaining that Leipzic was the chief scene of action of these "children of darkness."] So much is undoubtedly true that the inhabitants of Leipzic have pretty well got rid of these magical doctors, and they would rather welcome black-a-moors than these genii. They have, indeed, left there an evil odour behind them, but it will not be difficult for a Clarus to destroy it, as the salt works of Kösen are near at hand, and it is easy to procure Nordhausen oil of vitriol (p. 7.)

According to Fischer homœopathy proved a failure in Vienna, although that city is not quite free from its contamination. "The capital on the Spree alone is a laudable exception to the rule, because the medical authorities there are earnestly concerned to preserve the inhabitants of the town from such fanfaronades! Why do they not hasten thither? Because they shun the light and wish to hide behind the mask which would there be forcibly dragged away;" (in 1833 the spread of homœopathy in Berlin is lamented, consequently only four years later.) "The basis of homœopathy is furnished by bold and unprovable assertions," and this is enforced by reference to the "heroes of grey antiquity." A year before he had blamed the allopaths for not paying proper attention to diet, the preparation of medicines, &c., now in all these particulars they are far superior to the homœopaths. The author states that he has already exposed the "follies" of the homœopaths in a non-medical journal, the *Dresdener Merkur*.

We also once gave Hahnemann our approval when he first attempted to ascertain the curative properties of various medicinal substances, and

to open a new way for a just estimation of their powers, in the second and third vols. of the older Hufeland's *Journal*. [Why did he not then publicly come forward on Hahnemann's side? It was, in great part, the indolence and indifference of his colleagues which embittered Hahnemann against them].

From the following passage it appears that from the beginning he did not rightly understand Hahnemann. He continues:—

All the less can we allopaths be astonished that Dr. Hahnemann and his adherents declare the medical traditions of thousands of years to be deception and folly, scorn our knowledge, and do not trouble themselves about the older medicine and its main doctrines.....Great self-control is required to restrain one's pen.

When Hahnemann dares to deny the crises of diseases which no school and no physician has ever ventured to dispute, which thousands of physicians have recognised in their works, and which millions of practitioners have witnessed at the sick bed, we can only compassionate such an aberration of human intellect.....

I and other allopaths think nothing of experiments on senseless animals.

The homœopath can render no help when the efforts of Nature to get rid of injurious matter are too violent, or on the contrary, when Nature's efforts are too weak and ineffectual.

Homœopathy is nonsense. "Hence, both English and French look upon it as a chimera, and in those countries no one thinks of trying it." (The author must soon have heard the lament over the spread of the detested homœopathy beyond the Rhine and the Channel).

We have selected this article from among the multitude, and gone into it more fully, because the author was a physician of repute, and because it is a type of most of the other allopathic diatribes of this time, which constantly repeat themselves, and which it would be waste of time and paper to examine individually.

Before we describe the quarrel in its further developments it is necessary to understand the

Medical Standpoint of the Opponents,

particularly with regard to blood-letting, emetics, and purgatives, which Hahnemann so pitilessly attacked.

Dr. J. R. Bischoff, professor of clinical medicine, and

senior physician to the General Hospital at Prague, *Considerations on the medical treatment hitherto pursued, and on the first principles of the homœopathic doctrine of disease.* Prague, 1819.

PAGE 111: Hippocrates would have saved many lives—"it can be proved from his records of cases of disease"—if he had employed "a cooling treatment, administered mild purgatives and used derivatives and blood-letting."

At p. 126 and following, the author attacks Hahnemann's statement: "Homœopaths were much more successful than the ordinary school, which, as has lately again become the fashion, on theoretical grounds advises only the so-called antiphlogistics and merciless blood-letting,* and does a monstrous deal of harm thereby."

Bischoff appeals to the sense of duty and to the conscience of physicians, "to the approved experience of centuries," and to Hahnemann's own instructor, Quarin.

No harm had ever arisen from a right employment of bleeding, but "great good has been done by it."

Out of 197 patients, who suffered from inflammation of the lungs and the pleura, only ten died in his hands (as all his students could testify), and of these ten four suffered from phthisis, and three were victims to mistakes in diet. Neglect of blood-letting produces chronic disease; he had bled two women of eighty-one and ninety-seven years respectively with favourable results. He, in conjunction with a friend, bled a strong man twelve times in three days and a-half, taking a pound of blood each time, and "after the twelfth time profuse bleeding from the nose ensued twice, and the blood still showed a marked inflammatory coat. Nature gave thus the most convincing proof that not an ounce too much blood had been taken. In six weeks the patient was entirely restored.....More especially in hæmoptysis and pulmonary apoplexy, in certain cases of nervous diseases and many other affections, blood-letting is often the only saving remedy." The true physician should not suffer himself to

* He is alluding to the treatment of pneumonia.

be deterred from the repetition of blood-letting when it is seen to be necessary, "by the lamentations of the bystanders, who look askance at this proceeding"; he must conquer himself and think of the words of Hahnemann, although they refer to the very opposite set of circumstances:

"The oak garland bestowed on us by a good conscience rewards us a thousand-fold for such self-conquests."

Prof. Puchelt* "agrees entirely" with Bischoff. The *Med. chir. Zeitung* also (1820 I. p. 93, 84) declares itself to be in accord with Bischoff's views about bleeding.

Prof. Heinroth expresses the following views in the *Anti-Organon*. Leipzig, 1825.

We must begin by stating that Heinroth was a physician of note. "This great mind, who would measure himself with his intelligence?" says a certain Kreisphysicus Dr. Wesener.† Mention is made of the "learned Heinroth" in Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*,‡ and in many other places, and this *Anti-Organon* is also spoken of as "Heinroth's classical work." He is not unknown to the history of medicine.

PAGES 52 and 53:—What becomes of experience in Hahnemann's observations of patients if he did not find bleeding of great use in inflammation of the lungs?

PAGE 94:—The author would acknowledge the principle of similars in emetics for over-loaded stomachs, copious blood-letting for headaches, palpitation of the heart, &c., in the absence of that natural remedy, epistaxis. Hahnemann does not admit this: "What are we to infer from that? That all physicians without exception, even the most talented and successful, have acted in a senseless and thoughtless manner." This will give the reader some idea of the "irresistible logic and the classical style in which

* Hufeland's *Journal*, 1819, St. 6, p. 11, note.

† Hufeland's *Journal*, 1828, p. 69.

‡ Vol. 7, p. 106.

Heinroth grapples with and throws his opponent ; he first assumes the truth of Hahnemann's principles, and then logically demonstrates the absurdities to which they lead."

PAGE 99 :—How salutary are the-above-mentioned leeches, cupping, blisters, &c. Where does Hahnemann mention these remedies ? And even venesection ! Is Herr Hahnemann not an avowed enemy of this great remedy ?.....Do we not see the most exhausting hæmorrhages arrested by bleeding to syncope ?.....

PAGE 181 :—We can therefore say that the great therapeutic principle is *contraria contrariis*.

Freiherr von Wedekind, *Priifung des homöopathischen Systems*. Darmstadt, 1825 :

PAGE 49 :—I am perhaps the only living writer who am a pure materialist in contradistinction to Hahnemann.

He combats both here and in Hufeland's *Journal*, 1828, Hahnemann's dynamism, respecting which the opinions of homœopaths themselves are sufficiently known.

PAGE 56 :—The beneficial effects of blood-letting and emetics, &c., are spoken of. " I should like to know what physician would not retire from practice if he were obliged to renounce even the employment of purgatives." He then exclaims : " I should like to ask whether the acknowledged impossibility of foregoing the use of evacuating medicines and bleeding is not the most convincing proof of the worthlessness of Hahnemann's doctrine in practical medicine ? "

PAGE 132 :—How on earth could the learned and renowned Hahnemann fall into the error of promulgating such a doctrine, and how could he be so audacious as to speak in such disparaging terms of the physicians who lived 3000 years before him, and of his contemporaries ?

Wedekind was one of the most distinguished physicians of his day, a disciple of Fr. Hoffmann, and a pupil and friend of L. Hoffmann, the iatro-chemist.

Dr. Fr. Groos, Court Physician to the Grand Duke of Baden, *Ueber das homöopathische Heilprincip*. Heidelberg, 1825.

PAGE 24 :—Is there any other method of treating true inflammatory fevers of such universal application, and yielding such good results as Sydenham's antiphlogistic method? where, therefore, the principle *contraria contrariis* leads to a radical cure.

Sydenham was, as is well known, a great advocate of bleeding.

Groos strove to pronounce an impartial judgment :

The principles *contraria contrariis* and *similia similibus* have each their unqualified application, each in suitable cases will conduce to a radical cure.

PAGE 36 :—Homœopathy will become an extremely valuable and integral part of medicine and will remain a treasure-house of noble and original ideas.

But his beloved venesects, emetics and purgatives formed a party-wall which separated him from Hahnemann, as it did so many of his other opponents.

Mückisch, *Die Homœopathie in ihrer Würde, &c.* Vienna, 1826 : Mückisch was director of the second Hospital for Children's Diseases of Vienna.

PAGE 1 :—Medicine has incontestably made important progress towards perfection in the nineteenth century; whereby with the greatest possible certainty it protects the lives of generations and saves them from premature death by the innumerable host of diseases. But it has only attained this high position as a science of experience, moulded and regulated by rational criticism.

PAGE 41 :—The universal organic law of nature is *contraria contrariis*.

PAGE 53 :—Intimately conversant with children's diseases for fifteen years I have treated a thousand such children with derivative and revulsive remedies, or, in other cases, with purgatives and enemata, or emetics, or blood-letting, or by re-establishing eruptions which had been driven inwards by means of artificial cutaneous irritants, and have almost always obtained a rapid and permanent cure.

PAGE 60 :—In cases of atony of the stomach and of the *prima viae* from quantitative indigestion, manifested by stomach-ache, headache, spasms, oppression of breathing, vertigo, &c., should we not give an emetic, which is the approved remedy for these sufferings?

PAGE 72 :—Thousands and thousands of persons suffering from inflammation of the lungs have been quickly and permanently cured by blood-lettings in sufficient quantity and frequency, but we never imagined that artificial bleeding and antiphlogistic agents of all kinds cure in such cases by similarity of symptoms. Nature herself often cures antipathically inflammation of the brain by spontaneous bleeding from the nose and inflammations of the abdomen by metrorrhagia.

PAGES 93 and 94 :—We quarrel most with Hahnemann for his neglect of purgatives and emetics, for we have regarded them as accredited remedies in obstructions, gastric crudities, material hypochondriases, and generally in accumulations of unassimilable matters and such like, because when indicated our patients made speedy and permanent recoveries through their employment.

PAGE 95 :—Time, which tries all doctrines, will show whether by the general acceptance of homœopathy all purgatives and emetics may be dispensed with, for hitherto they have proved the most indispensable and salutary remedies in material diseases of the digestive system caused by our modes of living.

Elias, *Homœopathische Gurkenmonat*. Halle, 1827 :

PAGE 42 :—The fact that it allows patients suffering from inflammatory diseases to be suffocated in their blood is no very brilliant proof of the harmlessness of homœopathy.

PAGE 44 :—Homœopathy is only innocuous in three out of a hundred cases in which it is employed. 1. Because, though the prevailing morbid character may not be absolutely inflammatory but either purely catarrhal, bilious, gastric, nervous or complicated, still plenty of cases occur in which bleeding either general or local is indispensable; and some chronic diseases, particularly dropsies combined with great weakness, in my experience and that of other physicians (and it is perhaps worth as much as that of the homœopaths) sometimes require general bleeding, and cannot be cured without it. 2. Because it ignores the periculum in mora. 3. For a hundred other reasons.

Fischer, Dresden. *Op. cit.* 1824.

PAGE 3 :—Complete ignoring of the aid afforded by Nature, of the real essential important *vis medicatrix naturæ*.....neglect of remedies found to be valuable during thousands of years, e.g., bleeding, which no school, by whatever name it was called, could ever dispense with, much less reject as useless, superfluous and injurious.

PAGES 3 and 4 :—An impudent and inexcusable attempt to reject to the injury of humanity as erroneous and false the therapeutics which rests upon experience.....the edifice erected by the most distinguished thinkers of all ages and nations, which possesses an inestimable wealth of experience and can show the votive tablets of millions of cured patients, could only be exchanged for a system that should earn the undivided approbation of all adepts in the art—a system which we could hardly expect to get from gods, never from men.

PAGE 10 :—It is exceedingly unlikely that homœopathy can certainly and radically cure active inflammations without bleeding.

PAGE 31 :—Magistral formulas and mixtures devised by distinguished practitioners cannot be altered by conscientious medical men.

PAGE 40 :—Only a cold-blooded wretch could see without indignation how Hahnemann has ridiculed and disparaged the old school of medicine, and looked down with pride and contempt upon those mighty spirits who have earned immortal honours for their services to the art of preserving life.

PAGE 54 :—The depreciation and disparagement of a Hahnemann and his confederates cannot rob us of the trophies we have won in the treatment of acute and chronic diseases.

PAGE 76 :—Among the higher and more wealthy class of citizens where the efforts of nature to cure are either too violent or too powerless for obvious reasons.....homœopathy seldom succeeds.

PAGE 80 :—It is obvious that the homœopath, unless he secretly employs allopathic methods, cannot cure certainly and radically those inflammations which are called acute, phlogistic or sthenic. For in these cases commensurate bleeding can alone obviate the excessive reaction, the application of cold to the surface of the body alone can reduce the temperature to the normal, and a sufficient quantity of medicines containing oxygen alone can restore the disordered respiratory process, otherwise the disease will suddenly paralyse all the functions like a narcotic poison, and life will go out in ardent heat ! Anyone who, in cases like this, where the life hangs by a thread and the great danger demands instant and copious abstraction of blood, plays with the life of a fellow-creature by the culpable neglect of what is essential, and in the spirit of Hahnemann employs neither general nor local bleeding, nor the absolutely indispensable anti-phlogistic method, has no claim to the name of a conscientious physician.

PAGE 81 :—The author can speak from personal experience ; more than once his existence has depended solely upon an immediate employment of venesection, and he has experienced how every moment the blood pressed more and more upon the central organs and increased the danger to the highest degree ; after the commencement of the venesection, and while the foaming blood was flowing, he at once felt a return of bodily and mental vigour to its normal condition ! Only those who have been in equal danger can realise how entirely at such moments the life depends upon the lancet, and that no known agent can replace venesection. Unfortunately cases are not wanting where homœopaths have unexpectedly lost their patients by their criminal neglect of bleeding, or have been the cause of their becoming hopelessly paralysed.

PAGE 82 :—If the followers of Hahnemann boast that they have sometimes cured cases of acute inflammation.....we are justified in believing that they used deception and employed allopathic medicines.

PAGE 84 :—And how disastrous are the results of the neglect of bleeding ! if the patient is not at once killed, it is all the worse for

him, for he falls into a rapid or slow cachexia, which kills him in an exceedingly painful manner—and in the face of this the homœopathic school pretend to dispense with bleeding ! they, forsooth, boldly and impudently declare that they treat their patients, indifferent to consequences, according to the caprice of a man whose sole delight is in contradictions, who, untroubled by the evil he does, strives only to act in direct opposition to the experience of 1000 years.

Woe to those who suffer from inflammation of the brain, liver, lungs, spleen or stomach, from croup, pleurisy, pericarditis, peritonitis, enteritis, cystitis or metritis ! they will obtain no relief or even alleviation from homœopaths ; it is in these cases that the homœopath (as we have often observed) deceives the patient, and in the anxiety of his heart resorts to allopathic treatment.

We are always deeply distressed when we are assured that inflammation of the lungs has been rapidly and agreeably cured by a homœopath without recourse to bleeding ! In such cases we always wish that it may be a false report, and that some good-natured person has been persuaded to testify to it.

This amiable confession is indeed worthy of thanks, and deserves to be noted.

PAGE 61 :—Homœopathy must appear to every rational being to be the excrement of a mind whose brain has suffered decomposition in the living body.

We cannot here subjoin Hufeland's opinions, as expressed in his *Journal* in 1830, and in a separate treatise, *Die Homœopathie*,* published, in 1831, by Reimer of Berlin, without a feeling of sorrow at the unfortunate aberration of a man who had spent a long life in disinterested labour for the benefit of humanity.

PAGE 9 :—It may be permitted to an old man to look at things in a light different from that in which they are regarded by eager youth. One is placed in quite a peculiar position, when one has already lived through several ages of human life in the domain of science and witnessed so many meteors arise, dazzle and disappear ; so many systems, each of which professed to be the sole true one, thoroughly exploded.

PAGE 12 :—I made a declaration to this effect in the *Journal für praktische Heilkunde* in 1826 [known to the reader] : "Time will show."

PAGE 22 :—Among these are first the *contraria contrariis*.....No one will deny.....that excess of blood can be removed by abstraction of blood.

* Translated in *B. J. of H.*, Vol. XVI., p. 177.

PAGE 30 :—But thereby the vital germ of inflammation is not destroyed ; this blood-letting alone can effect.

PAGE 23 :—Who is there who has not witnessed the excellent effect of purgatives.....of cutaneous irritants, of issues?.....the immense experience of thousands of years.

PAGE 38 :—How I wish my feeble voice could be heard like thunder ! What, as regards chronic, not dangerous cases, may be a permitted, temporizing, indifferent, easily remedied treatment, in such cases becomes a *crime*. He, who out of fanatical regard for his mode of treatment, when life is at stake neglects to use the remedies which a thousand years' experience has proved to be the best ; he who, for example, omits blood-letting when the patient is in danger of being suffocated in his own blood, in cases of pneumonia, apoplexy, encephalitis and generally in inflammations of important organs, and death, or some chronic, incurable disease ensues—such a one has the sin of blood-guiltiness on his conscience, which if he do not immediately feel it, will some day weigh painfully upon him, when the intoxication of fanaticism shall have passed away—such a man is doomed by justice to punishment, if not by an earthly, yet certainly by a higher tribunal ; for he is a murderer by omission, just as much as he who sees his neighbour in danger of drowning and refuses to pull him out of the water.

Simon, *S. Hahnemann, Pseudomesias.* Hamburg, 1830.

PAGE 140 :—So for example, there can be no doubt that, especially in cases of hereditary predisposition to consumption, an occasional venesection and issues on the arm are the best means of preventing its development and of retarding its progress. Every experienced practitioner has had in his own practice instances of this, and of such a convincing character that none of the nonsense of the Organist [so he calls Hahnemann] can upset or even shake it.

PAGE 297 :—If for instance, on rare occasions, a considerable pneumonia recovers without venesection, that is a *rara avis, nigro simillima cygno* ; for, as a rule, when an energetic antiphlogistic treatment is omitted, the patient becomes consumptive or soon dies of pulmonary apoplexy.

Simon, *Geist der Homöopathie.* Hamburg, 1833.

PAGE 25 :—We strive to moderate the congestion of important organs, partly by diminishing the mass of blood, and partly by agents which control the circulation and divert it from the implicated organs.

In Simon's *Anti-homöopath. Archiv* (1835 Heft III. p. 120) a physician says : " The reviewer would be afraid of doing something very superfluous if he tried to demonstrate the universally admitted advantages of bleeding, and the methodus evacuans." Every number of this journal, which

worthily represents the allopathic style of polemics, affords similar instances of views expressed in the same tone.

This is Simon's opinion of Hahnemann's intellect: "He is always the same unreliable ignoramus, both in medicine and in science." *

An anonymous writer, *Wunder der Homöopathie*. Leipzig, 1833.

PAGE 60:—True inflammation of the lungs cannot be cured without venesection.....

PAGE 61:—Homœopathic swindlers and accoucheurs with their confederates and accomplices.

PAGE 64:—Nature has many ways and means of remedying disorders of the organism, and the investigation of these ways and their application in suitable cases is the task of medical science. Nature relieves plethora of blood by haemorrhages; the accumulation of peccant matters in, and the overloading of, the alimentary canal she relieves by spontaneous evacuations without the aid of art.....She combats inflammation by suppuration and gangrene by inflammation.

PAGE 69 and 70:—That chronic diseases often follow the suppression of itch was well known to all physicians, and Hahnemann need not have transcribed 13 pages from the writings of others in order to prove it, unless his love of lucre induced him to do this in order to increase his honorarium.

PAGE 111:—This is the weak side of homœopathy; it endangers the recuperation of the organs, the health and life itself by its neglect of general and local blood-letting.

At the end of this work we read: "Let everyone now draw his own conclusions as to which side truth lies on."

Dr. Zeroni, Hofrath of the Grand Duke of Baden, *Ueber Heilkunde, Allöopathie und Homöopathie*. Mannheim, 1834.

PAGE 23:—In this disease (scarlet fever) the greatest dangers can be obviated by the employment of the well-known and approved remedies of medicine, among which bleeding occupies the first place.

PAGES 25 and 26:—The author repeatedly speaks of the necessity of blood-letting in scarlet fever.

PAGE 27:—Unprejudiced observation shows that in dysentery all the symptoms of the disordered bowels often disappear after venesection.

PAGE 31:—One or more venesecti ons are often necessary in dysentery.

* *Anti-hom. Archiv*, I., H. 2, p. 25.

PAGE 32 :—Venesection is often necessary in dysentery to save life.....the homœopath allows the patient to die.

PAGE 35 :—True inflammations, if left to themselves, end in death.

PAGE 36 :—In true inflammatory fever the patient will die if not bled in time.

PAGE 37 :—In inflammation of the lungs the patient cannot be saved except by large and repeated blood-lettings.

PAGES 39 and 40 :—I once saw suppuration and adhesion follow pleurisy and blamed myself for not having taken enough blood.....I advise homœopaths to take particular pains to learn the diagnosis of inflammation of the lungs and pleuræ and especially of inflammatory fever.

PAGES 45 and 46 :—In my experience patients after recovery from intermittent fever in our climate should not leave the house for at least twenty days. [Hahnemann recommends as much fresh air as possible.]—I have drawn attention to the importance of venesection, purgatives and tonics.

PAGE 63 :—It may now be generally assumed that the homœopaths have not the smallest knowledge of true medicine.....the observations of the most remarkable men of the day.....experience.....venesection.

PAGE 76 :—The homœopath is not a physician ; he does not know the means by which life may be saved.

Conclusion : Let us hope that good sense will some day triumph over medical prejudices !

C. A. Eschenmayer, Professor in Tübingen. *Die Allopathie und Homöopathie.* Tübingen, 1834.

PAGE 39 :—In cases of general orgasm, depleting agents, and venesection must be quickly employed in order to control reaction. There are material hindrances to the operation of the vital force, such as accumulations of bile, mucus, lymph, worms and excrements, which must be removed by emetics and purgatives.

PAGE 61 :—When the action of a pernicious irritation is diminished by bleeding, depleting agents and blisters, who would look for a drug disease here ?

The author pronounces an objective judgment on homœopathy, and acknowledges many of its advantages.

PAGE 30 :—I agree with Hahnemann that a great reduction to simpler principles is required, and particularly to such as have a practical value, and that the whole array of hypotheses should be abandoned to oblivion, &c.

PAGE 37 :—How can the uncertainty with regard to the action of drugs be removed ? Only by proving them on the healthy, and then seeking for a principle by which they may be applied in disease. Hahnemann adopted this plan and discovered the principle. Only in

this way can we obtain specific medicines, and this is the goal for which medicine should strive.

PAGE 47 :—As Newton was led to the discovery of the law of gravity by the fall of an apple, so Hahnemann after a few experiments was led to this thought : are not those drugs which produce certain conditions in the healthy capable of curing the same symptoms in the sick ? Many observations tended to confirm the truth of this thought, and Hahnemann now undertook the great experiment with a perseverance and intelligence from which we cannot withhold our admiration.

PAGE 100 :—The homœopathists, and chief among them their master, confess that they are unable to explain how atoms of medicines still display striking effects on the organism. Still such is truly the case, and at least 400 physicians confirm it by their own experience. Even Dr. Kopp, the unprejudiced critic of homœopathy, is from his own experience so convinced of the efficacy of the 30th dilution that he is ready to testify to it on his oath.

PAGE 38 :—Homœopathy is so thoroughly based on experience, that to deny this betrays either ignorance, caprice, prejudice, indolence or fear of the new system.

PAGE 134 :—Homœopathy was founded by a man who has the fullest right to lead physicians on a new path. It has already formed a school which contains many hundreds of worthy adherents, we should therefore allow it full scope.

PAGES 98 and 99 :—Confesses that before Hahnemann physicians neglected diet.

Prof. Dr. Riecke, also of Tübingen, gave an address on September 27th, 1833, the birthday of the King, in which he expresses the following views :*

In time homœopaths will return to bleeding.....As homœopathy now stands it is so replete with scientific contradictions, so full of illogical conclusions, that it can have no future before it as a system. It is nevertheless quite wrong to regard it as a phenomenon of no importance. It has attacked allopathy on its weakest side, that is, its *materia medica*, has drawn attention to the monstrous defects of our medicine, and a total reform can no longer be postponed.....As yet no university has taken any notice of homœopaths. In Leipzig a private hospital was established. The student must therefore study homœopathy in its literature, which embraces more than threehundred volumes for and against, none of which will be found in the libraries of the universities. No mere ephemeral sect has ever possessed such a literature.

The homœopathic physician must absolutely prepare his drugs him-

* *Allg. Anz. d. Deutschen*, 1834, p. 4288.

self, which considering their simplicity is not difficult. As all homœopathic medicines have neither chemical reactions, colour, taste nor smell, there are absolutely no conceivable means of assuring oneself of their genuineness except by the physician preparing them himself. The preparation of his medicines by himself is therefore a *conditio sine qua non* for the homœopathic physician.

Prof. F. G. Gmelin (with Eschenmayer and Ricke the third Tübingen Professor who wrote about homœopathy between 1834 and 1835) *Kritik der Prinzipien der Homœopathie*. Tübingen, 1835.

PAGE 63:—It is a well-known fact that a wound will not heal, takes on a bad appearance and may become serious if round worms are present in the intestinal canal. When the worms have been expelled it at once heals. Stoll observed something similar during an epidemic of biliary fever. Trifling wounds would not heal, excited serious symptoms, but at once became benignant and healed when the bile was evacuated by means of an emetic.

PAGE 64:—Very few physiologists now-a-days deny that the blood is living matter; nevertheless an undue quantity of it is often a great obstacle to its proper circulation and interferes with the free activity of the vital force.

PAGE 92:—In this way, for example, laxatives relieve headaches and diuretics lung and heart affections. As the greatest danger to the patient lies in the concentration of the morbid action in one organ, its diffusion through several organs will be of material benefit in serious cases.

PAGE 60:—The old school can pride itself on having advanced to such perfection in the knowledge and treatment of many serious diseases, incurable as a rule when left to themselves, as, for instance, important inflammations, particularly of the lungs and brain, acute hydrocephalus, croup, general syphilis, &c., that it will certainly cure the great majority of these.

PAGE 65:—If the blood is excessive in quantity or consistence, the circulation, and therefore life itself is in jeopardy, just as the mechanical occlusion of the windpipe instantly kills even the strongest man. In these cases spontaneous or artifical bleeding, as is well known, restores to health an apparently dying man. Hahnemann entirely denies that the blood is ever in excessive quantity.

PAGE 243:—Homœopathy denies the oldest and best recognised maxims, e.g., the employment of bleeding in true inflammations, of emetics where there is excessive quantity of bile.

PAGE 239:—In all medical systems, however they may differ amongst themselves, the necessity of blood-letting in true inflammations, and of emetics in biliousness is recognised—homœopathy is almost (?) the only exception.

Prof. L. W. Sachs, director of the Dispensary at Königsberg. *Die Homöopathie und Herr Kopp*, Leipzig, 1834, says (page 4) that he had been asked by the Berlin Society for Scientific Criticism to write a review of the works of both sides.

PAGE 240:—P. Frank's remark concerning the therapeutics of inflammation of the lungs “vitæ sors unica ex cuspidé hæret lanceolæ,” is the simple truth.

PAGE 245-247:—Kopp recounts a case of speedy cure of pleurisy without bleeding, under homœopathic treatment.

PAGE 247:—I repeat that the circumstances were not as related by Herr Kopp, and that the facts of the case were not as he represents them.

Such cures without bleeding could not be scientifically explained, therefore they did not occur.

Judgment upon Hahnemann :

PAGE 61:—As is always the case with limited intellects and ignorant men, he has not here, and has never elsewhere, succeeded in emancipating himself from the barren abstraction of his vain speculations.

As he was previously acknowledged to be a man of ordinary sense, he ought to be examined in reference to his morbid aberrations.....in short he must be handed over to a sensible mad doctor, (conclusion page 26.)

Hahnemann has always shown himself deficient in logical reasoning.

Hahnemann's article in Hufeland's *Journal*, Bd. 4 [the reader knows it] shows his inability to fundamentally grasp a simple idea, and pursue it consistently back and onwards ; and this article is the best he ever wrote (*ib.* page 57).

Stieglitz* calls Prof. Sachs “a highly talented author.”

Lockner, *Die Homöopathie in ihrer Nichtigkeit*, 1835.

PAGE 34:—The homœopath will not bleed.....as the numerous wretched victims everywhere where conscientious homœopaths are allowed to pursue their course uninterrupted show. [This is an appeal for interference by the State].

Lesser, *Die Homöopathie*, Berlin, 1835.

To the doctor of medicine, who in the year 1835 shall be professor of history in the medical faculty of Berlin, the author dedicates this in the year 1835.

* *Die Homöopathie*, Hanover, 1835, p. 198.

PAGE 34:—Rational medicine (this designation was first used by Hufeland in his *Journal* in 1828, in contradistinction to homœopathy) not in order to characterise homœopathy as irrational, but only to intimate that allopathy treats logically and homœopathy by analogy [a distinction which the homœopaths energetically repudiated. The homœopath, Dr. Attomyr, held that for more than 100 years the word "rational," as now used by allopaths, was derived from rations, *e.g.*, as one now speaks of large or small rations for horses ; this made the allopaths very angry.] Rational medicine guides the *vis medicatrix*, and seizes the reins of unintelligent nature when it sees her wandering from the road and causing disaster.

PAGE 144:—In order to prove that homœopathy neglects rational treatment the well-known passage of Hufeland is quoted: "He who neglects bleeding when life is at stakewhen the patient is in danger of being suffocated in his own blood, and death occurs, has the sin of blood-guiltiness on his conscience.....deserves punishment by the law.....is a murderer by omission," &c.

After the author has communicated some statistics referring to his own military hospital, which "prove" that bleeding is indispensable, he proceeds to quote Hahnemann's own words,* to show his utter futility :

It is incomprehensible how the allopaths can consider it a great sin if, in inflammatory diseases, *e.g.*, pleurisy and pneumonia, blood be not drawn off and that repeatedly and in large quantity. But if this is an efficacious sort of method, how can they reconcile it with the fact that of all who die in a year, a sixth part of the whole number dies under them of inflammatory affections, as their own statistics prove? not one twelfth of them would have died had they not fallen into such sanguinary hands [this agrees strikingly with the subsequent statistics of the Vienna experiments], had they but been left to nature, and kept aloof from that old pernicious art. Hundreds and thousands more die miserably every year, the most promising youths of the country, in the flower of their age—of wasting, consumption and ulceration of the lungs. You have their deaths on your conscience! for is there one among you who has not laid the seeds for it by your fine mode of treatment, by your senseless blood-lettings and your antiphlogistic appliances in a previous inflammation of the lungs, which must thereby inevitably turn into pulmonary consumption and prove fatal? This irrational antipathetic, barbarous mode of treating pneumonia, by numerous venesecti ons, leeches, and debilitating remedies (called by you antiphlogistics) yearly

* *Allopathy.* See *Lesser Writings*, p. 830.

sends thousands to the grave by fever from deprivation of the forces, dropsy and ulceration of the lungs! Truly an excellent privileged mode of quietly destroying wholesale the very flower of mankind.

After the lapse of fifty years, the professor will agree with us that Lesser could have hit upon no more unfortunate plan of demonstrating the utter futility of Hahnemann's doctrines than that of contrasting Hufeland's and Hahnemann's expressed opinions.

Page 175, the house physician prescribes venesection "the old lady," neglects his advice and consults a homœopath; naturally she subsequently died of apoplexy "in the first year of her homœopathic career."

This is apparently the same lady mentioned in an article by Griesselich in the *Allgemeine homœopath. Zeitg.**

The report disseminated by South German Journals, that homœopathy is to be prohibited throughout the whole of Prussia in consequence of an unfortunate case that occurred in Berlin, turns out from information given by Stüler to be false. The death of an old lady who had long been treated with all manner of stimulants and counter-irritants, who was treated first by Hofrath Recher, and then after much persuasion by Stüler, and who suffered from asthma, afterwards complicated by a paralytic stroke, for which the world would have wished to see her bled, probably gave rise to this report, which was received with much jubilation by the physicians here [Karlsruhe].

PAGE 182:—Lesser continues: I know that there are acute diseasesin which bleeding must be resorted to as soon as possible and that very copiously in order to save life.....I also know that, in many cases, if it is postponed for ten or twelve hours, nothing can repair its neglect; I know that occasionally large venesecti ons, of 30 to 40 ounces (2-2½ pounds) are of the greatest service, and that in many cases such repeated bleedings may be necessary. I know, &c., &c.

PAGE 184:—When once the facetious Attomyr's youthful blood shall cease to effervesce so much, a less amount of vapour will be generated in his brain-pan, and when he then comes to his senses he will have recourse to blood-letting.

PAGE 188:—Many an inflammation passes into mortification especially when treated by a homœopath. Such unfavourable results ensue because either no blood is drawn, or bleeding is not practised with sufficient vigour or sufficiently early.....Inflammatory diseases are no doubt not always followed immediately by death, but death often ensues

* Vol. III., p. 40, 1883.

slowly by adhesions, exudations, thickenings, contractions, indurations, obstructions, ulcerations, and other sequelæ of the inflammatory disease. All these evils would be avoided, and many tedious sufferings and dyscrasias prevented, if the homœopath would only bleed.

PAGES 191, 218, 227, 234, and 243, contain similar statements about bleeding, which will not be without interest for the professor of the year 1935.

PAGE 34 Note:—Lesser shows that he agrees with Simon in regarding Hahnemann as “a gross ignoramus in medicine and in science.”

In 1836, Professor Most,* in his article *Homœopathie*, quotes Hufeland's words: “Voice of thunder.....crime.....murderers the law should take cognisance of it” and adds: “Thus Hufeland. May his warnings be taken to heart by every physician.”

Up till the year 1840, seldom did an anti-homœopathic work appear which did not violently reproach homœopathy for its rejection of blood-letting, &c. We will spare the reader the perusal of extracts from all of them. We shall only cite a few more authors to show the kind of medical arguments with which they sought to crush Hahnemann.

Hofrath and Leibmedicus Holscher, of Hanover, speaks in 1840,† of “the tooth of time which is eating away homœopathy,” thinks that homœopaths will return to bleeding, and thereupon makes the following observation: “It is a consoling fact in the history of medicine that it gives us so many proofs that we cannot be deprived of really useful salutary measures, either by juggling or quackery, or the efforts of isolated imposters or their dupes.”

Another author, whom we must trouble the reader with, is Dr. Leopold von Windish, first physician of the Royal Free-town Pesth, Director of the town hospital of St. Roch, &c., &c. Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*, 1836. Vol. 9, p. 224:

The frequently occurring acute rheumatic fevers and inflammations of the chest require antiphlogistic treatment.....often in the same

* *Encyclopädie der Medicin*, 2nd edit., Leipzig, 1836, p. 1045.

† *Hannover'sche Annalen für die gesammte Heilkunde*, Bd. V., p. 865.

patient at short intervals, eight or more copious venesects must be performed [the interpretation of the word "copious" is left to the imagination].....The cruor is always covered by a thick and tough coat [this was the scientific proof of the necessity of bleeding].....We should not be chary of bleeding, for we have seen such patients, treated according to such fallacious and mischievous doctrines [homœopathy to wit] without blood-letting, die a frightful death from suffocation [the author carefully omits reference to any particular case].

Verily I should despise myself, if I could be so lost to shame as that I should communicate to the medical world fictitious cases invented by myself and not observed at the bedside ; particularly in our days when, owing to the unhappy schism introduced by homœopathy into medicine, not only every rational practitioner, who when it is required bleeds his patients, is denounced, but also, owing to the various opinions caused thereby among physicians as well as laymen of all degrees, disputes, quarrels, enmities and even persecutions are excited, and a war to the knife declared ; all of which would never have occurred had not the founder of homœopathy pretended to have obtained the mastery over nature, into whose secrets no created being has penetrated, to mould its eternal laws, which are unknown to him as to all mortals, according to his fancy.....to mislead so many educated and uneducated people by sophistry, falsehood and cunning.

Can anything more dangerous or irrational be conceived than what homœopathy teaches concerning bleeding?.....which condemns the physician who, in sthenic inflammations of the parenchyma and pleura of the lungs, and at a time when only a thin partition divides life from death, can only save the patient by the lancet?—which confidently maintains that these diseases can be cured with greater certainty and rapidity by its remedies without recourse to the murderous fleam. I do not know which to admire most in this homœopathic doctrine, its founder's ignorance or his presumption.....As long as I do not myself see these wonderful homœopathic cures, I shall continue to disbelieve them, the more so as I have seen in our hospital several cases of inflammation of the lungs treated homœopathically, that is to say, without bleeding, perish miserably.

Further on the author gives full rein to his rancorous hatred of homœopathy. He is really very angry with it.

I cannot help thinking that these cases were not real pneumonias but merely trifling rheumatic affections easily relieved by rest in bed, warmth, restricted diet, &c. ; the laity, and especially sensitive ladies, have been too ready to accept them for genuine coin, of course not to the disadvantage of the homœopaths. The insignificant cough accompanied by pain in the side or external muscles of the chest yields to the warmth of bed and the administered homœopathic powder.....without venesection, without leeches or blisters, in short, without any

of the allopathic impedimenta ; naturally it is thought wonderful, gold and praise are lavished upon the practitioner, who laughs in his sleeve and congratulates himself on his skill in hoodwinking the patient.

What did the homœopaths say to all this? They defended their views in innumerable works—they demanded an opportunity of displaying their superior results in the hospitals. In vain! “ You are charlatans, impostors, and swindlers ! ” was the answer they got. “ Experiments have been tried in Russia and lots of other places, and their results have been unfavourable to you. Your ignorant presumption knows no bounds. The State should proceed against this medical demi-monde who stifle their consciences in the purse.” This is the sort of language with which homœopaths were met in allopathic literature.

The same contest raged in America, England, Italy and France. Broussais reigned in France. Opposed to this rational Parisian professor, were the rational German professors, who, however, know how to bleed—innocent midges ! Most diseases were supposed to depend upon “ gastro-enteritis,” which must be treated by blood-letting, as if the blood in the patient’s body were the most virulent poison. The results were horrible : In the year 1838, Broussais treated by his method 219 cases of inflammation of the lungs in his hospital ; of these 137 died, *i.e.*, more than 62 per cent. ; the remainder recovered slowly, and had serious subsequent diseases*—nevertheless everything was done scientifically.

The homœopaths were never weary of protesting against the folly of bleeding and excited in the minds of the public more and more disinclination to submit to it, and the allopaths complained bitterly of this. Here and there an allopath appeared as an opponent of bleeding ; among these Krüger-Hansen was conspicuous. The expressed opinions of such authors were carefully collected by the

* *Gaz. méd. de Paris*, 1839, Vol. V., p. 173.

homœopaths, and disseminated as confirming the soundness of their practice.

The political and literary papers were dominated as now-a-days by the allopathic majority, and were used by them to inculcate the doctrine that everything coming from the mouths of homœopaths was to be disbelieved. They were all charlatans, swindlers, impostors or dupes, and Hahnemann was the devil himself. How could truth come from the mouths of such people? The most distinguished physicians, the professors, the Hof- and Geheimraths, the Royal physicians, all the Universities, the Municipal authorities, the State itself, in short, with few exceptions, "all the intelligence, learning, integrity, worth and honesty of the world" were on the other side. The trade in leeches was carried on wholesale, these animals were bought and sold in hundreds of thousands, in millions; in Paris at the time of Broussais there was a regular leech exchange. Germany possessed a valuable export trade in leeches to England and France,* where all the universities and learned corporations were in favour of bleeding. In the preceding centuries van Helmont (1577-1644), Sylvius (1614-1672), Bordeu (1721-1771) inveighed against excessive bleeding. Bontekoe (1647-1685) also entirely rejected venesection. He preferred diluting the rebellious blood, and for this purpose recommended Chinese tea, which was at that time a rarity. Fifty or more cups were to be taken daily; the East Indian Company should out of gratitude have voted him a handsome sum of money for this. Latterly, Brown and his followers tried to mitigate the medical thirst for blood. Nevertheless, the "scientific" treatment always kept the upper hand.

Common sense was in favour of bleeding. Bleeding from the nose relieves congestion of the head, the relief is felt at once; and so it is with other bleedings. Is this not a very important hint to us from nature? Must not the physician follow the way indicated by nature? And what will become of medicine if we do not hold by what

* Hufeland's *Journ.*, 1826, St. 3, p. 59.

we see with our eyes and understand with our reason? What changes does blood undergo in inflammatory diseases? It has become morbid from excess of albumen; the fibrin is morbidly increased in quantity. It is the fibrin which obstructs the finer vessels and retards the circulation and produces consolidation and ultimately suppuration. Rational therapeutics imperatively requires the diminution of the morbid albumen and of the pathological fibrin; this is treatment of the cause.

What is the condition of the lung after death in a case of pneumonia? It is gorged with blood. What is the condition of the heart? It is full of thick, dark-coloured blood. The blood overloads the organs, and the patient is suffocated in his blood. The organs must be disengaged. These are the simple but true laws of science. Medicine, however, must be tried by its results, says the professor, experience at the bedside must support the deduction if it is not to remain an empty theory. The professor, therefore, takes his audience to the bedside and opens a vein; the patient experiences a momentary sense of relief. The proof of the correctness of the theory is thus afforded, it is evident and clear. The evil after-effects are not considered; the subsequent course of the disease, especially if it be unsatisfactory and not in accordance with the theory, is not seen by the clinical professor, it is left to his assistants.

Even as late as the 5th decade of this century the "scientific" bleeding practice was still flourishing. Skoda and Dietl, of Vienna, were considered first rate clinical teachers. Skoda was still a rational bleeder. In the year 1842,* he treated in the hospital at Vienna fifty-nine pneumonias, of which sixteen died, though "free venesection usually gave relief." Gradually a few voices made themselves heard throwing doubt on the indispensableness of bleeding, and these voices increased in number every year not without meeting with "rational" and violent opposition. Dietl was one of the most decided opponents of venesection.

* *Oester. med. Wochenschrift*, 1845, No. 3. Elwert, *Beitrag zu den Rückschriften, &c.*, Bremen, 1840, p. 24.

He,* indeed, maintains that tartrate of antimony had upset the belief in bleeding. But there are plenty of proofs that homœopathy was this tartar emetic to the allopaths. He confesses that he was first led by homœopathy to abandon bleeding in pneumonia, but that he afterwards gave up homœopathy. He does not say what homœopathic remedies he gave, so that we cannot criticise his treatment. It was, however, according to Dietl, a fact that for some years past the prejudice of the public in favour of bleeding began to decline, "a circumstance partly attributable to the influence of homœopathy and partly to the spirit of the age." It can, however, be proved that "the spirit of the age" in this matter was determined by homœopathy. Between the years 1842 and 1846 Dietl treated 380 individuals in the Vienna Wieden Hospital for inflammation of the lungs, 85 of these by venesection, 106 with large doses of tartar emetic, and 189 by dietetic means. Of those treated by

	Venesection.	Tartar Emetic.	Diet.
Recovered ...	68	84	175
Died ...	17	22	14
Mortality ...	20%.	20.7%.	7%.

Therefore, in round numbers, 20 per cent. died under rational treatment; without rational treatment, 7 per cent. As homœopathy admittedly did no harm, the mortality under rational treatment exceeded that under homœopathy by 13 per cent. As a matter of fact, the results of homœopathic treatment were much more favourable than those of dietetic treatment. We are not adducing these statistics in proof of the superiority of homœopathy, but to show that according to them the results of homœopathy must have surpassed those of allopathy.

These statistics were only furnished by a single individual, but we quote them because they agree with those subsequently obtained. Richter† even maintains that the allopathic treatment of that day gave a mortality of 25 per

* *Der Aderlass*, Vienna, 1849.

† *Der Einfluss der Cellularpathologie*, Berlin, 1863, p. 6.

cent., while that of expectant treatment was only 7 per cent. Be this as it may, it is certain that the allopaths did a great deal of harm, while homœopaths had an immense superiority in the results they obtained. This is in inflammation of the lungs alone. Think of the number of other inflammatory diseases, "gastric feyer," typhus, measles, scarlet fever, small-pox, dysentery, cholera, &c., in which lifelong injury to health often resulted from bleeding. What misery have the allopaths brought upon the human beings who trusted themselves to them! but we must not blame them for that. They, no doubt, honestly endeavoured to perfect medical science. But the reproach will always remain at their door that, at a time when the better way was made known, they through pride and indolence refused to inquire into it.

In 1849 Dietl published his results, which excited the greatest attention among the homœopaths; he was violently attacked for his opinions by the allopaths, and he collected and published a great number of new observations* which fully confirmed his first results. But the allopaths would not allow themselves to be so quickly weaned from their dear old habits. As late as 1850, venesection is recommended in cholera without a word of disapproval by the editor of Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*; † in 1851 venesection is recommended in "all the stages of consumption" ‡ and in 1854 it is spoken of as a "sovereign remedy in cholera." § In 1860, in the treatment of scarlet fever, we are recommended as a first measure to administer an emetic, then a purgative, and finally, as a third "prime remedy," venesection. || The year 1867 ¶ shows that in inflammation of the lungs free venesection was still employed, and even in the present day many allopaths still hanker after venesection, though now-a-days the majority occupy the same position

* Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*, Vol. LXXVI., p. 30.

† Vol. LXVI., p. 251.

‡ *Ib.*, Vol. LXXII., p. 347.

§ *Ib.*, Vol. LXXXIV., p. 113.

|| *Ib.*, Vol. CVIII., p. 209.

¶ *Ib.*, Vol. CXXXV., p. 354.

with regard to this disputed point as was occupied seventy years ago by the homœopaths, to the great advantage of those who trusted to them.

But the weight of blame which these "rational" physicians incurred, with the best intentions and in the firm conviction that they were doing right, is only in part represented under the head of bleeding. This "rational" medicine has further caused not a little mischief by the administration to the sick body of large quantities of powerful drugs which have often added a worse artificial disease to the natural malady already existing.

In order to continue the history of the opposition to homœopathy, we must refer back to the year 1829. We here meet with the criminal action brought against a homœopathic physician, Dr. Trinks;* an account of which, founded on the legal documents, was given by Moritz Müller, for whom even his bitter antagonist in Hufeland's *Journal*, Prof. Wedekind,† acknowledged his high esteem.

A woman named Kämpfe, twenty years old, fell ill with typhoid fever in 1829, for which she was treated during four days by Dr. Trinks, a homœopathic physician of Dresden; after the lapse of that time she was removed to an allopathic hospital, where she died after four days of treatment. The hospital physician was Dr. Schrag. On the assertion of some laymen that the homœopathic powders had disagreed with the patient, and because she was violently delirious when received into the hospital, an accusation of poisoning and *mala praxis* was founded. The following points were ordered to be inquired into in the municipal doctor's official report:—

Whether the necessary evacuating medicines for the correction and removal of morbid bile were given in sufficiently large doses?

* *Archiv f. d. hom. Heilk.*, Vol. VIII., H. 3.

† 1828, Vol. LXVI., St. 6, p. 21.

Whether antiphlogistic measures, such as venesection or leeches, and if so, how many, were employed at the proper time?

Whether the disease, treated according to Hahnemann's method, was thereby neglected and aggravated to a fatal degree; whether poisons were given in a homœopathic form. The last was denied by the official chemist, after analysis of the intestines.

After receiving the history of the case and its treatment from the homœopathic physician, the following report was given:—

The homœopathic treatment had not paid attention to the essential nature of the malady. The nature of the disease, according to the opinion of the municipal doctor founded on the report of the post-mortem examination, was an accumulation of corrosive bile with indurated faeces and violent enteritis. The materies morbi was overlooked and had acted prejudicially on the whole body. Rational and experienced physicians in all ages always appreciated the importance of fever and febrile matter. If derivative, antigastric, antiphlogistic and cooling treatment, together with the removal of the saburra biliosa from the intestinal canal and bleeding at the proper time had been employed, relief would have been given and the patient's life would have been saved.

In conclusion, this official report called homœopathy a "mystic absurdity" and a "disgrace to the medical history of our times," which should be put down (of course with assistance from the State), for people's lives were at stake, and the homœopaths rejected with scorn the "experience of the greatest physicians of all ages" (in respect to bleeding, emetics and purgatives).

We therefore consider it our duty to signify the same, and to append our names and seals—Dr. Erdmann, *Amtsphysicus*, Gönne, *Amtschirurgus*.

The *Stadtphysicus*, Dr. Kuhn, of Dresden, cross-examined the accused, Dr. Trinks, on October 5, 1829, as to why he had not employed leeches, cooling and "mildly resolvent," antiphlogistic and purgative remedies.

Why, seeing that the menses were checked, did you neglect [we must not forget that the case was one of typhoid] the employment of the remedies which have been sanctioned by the experience of so many—*e.g.*, derivatives, foot and half-baths, vapour baths into the vagina [the post-mortem showed that she was a *virgo intacta*], frictions on the abdomen, sacrum and inner surface of the thighs, mustard and vesicant plasters, dry cupping and leeches to the same parts or to the calves and hypo-

gastrum, besides internal remedies such as borax, melissa, fixed air, saffron, myrrh, the natural balsams, aloes, helleborus niger, and even sabina? [the victim is to be congratulated, even though she is in her grave, that 'science' was not let loose upon her.]

In further examination the enquirer showed some anxiety to know why the homœopathic practitioner had not employed general and local bleedings, cooling, "mildly resolvent" and "purgative remedies?"

Unfortunately, the answers of the accused are not communicated, about which a man like Trinks would have no difficulty, but M. Müller has made some very appropriate observations in the article referred to.

The result of the trial will be found in the *Archiv für hom. Heilkunst*.* From this we see that the Juridical Faculty of Leipzic pronounced that it was not clear that Dr. Trinks was to blame for his medical treatment of Kämpfe, and that "the defendant and the two prosecutors and reporters, Dr. Erdmann and Surgeon Gönne, should each pay a third of the costs." The law authorities based their verdict on the previous report of the Medical Faculty of Leipzic, in which the following declaration is made:—

Finally, the aforesaid municipal physician and municipal surgeon, have, unmindful that in a judicial report all attacks on opponents must be eschewed, attacked Hahnemann and homœopathic physicians in a manner unbecoming educated medical men though, fortunately, not capable of inducing medical judges to swerve from the path of absolute impartiality.

This dispute had not been settled before the Dresden homœopaths were subjected to a second trial. The allopaths have also given an account of this trial. There are two publications about it. One is by a homœopath, and is called, *Zur Geschichte der Homöopathie*, by Dr. Moritz Müller.† The other, by an allopath, is entitled, *Der Hahnemannianer als Geschichtschreiber und Critiker*, by Dr. Fr. J. Siebenhaar, of Dresden.‡ Anyone wishing to know how the contest was carried on on both sides should not neglect

* Vol. X., H. 1, p. 2—4.

† *Arch. f. hom. Heilk.* X., H. 1.

‡ Leipzig, W. Neuck, 1831.

to read the reports of the trial. In both works interesting illustrations are given in reference to the previous affair.

The allopath, Dr. Siebenhaar, was called on the 21st of July, 1829, to see the master shoemaker Leischke, whose physician he had been for several years. The patient was 54 years old. It was found that Leischke had "suffered from cough for a long time before this attack." On the above-mentioned day Dr. Siebenhaar found, according to his account, inflammation of the lung with a thickly coated tongue, loss of appetite, and severe vomiting of mucus and bile. Prescription: venesection to 8 or 10 ounces of blood, and a mixture of sal ammoniac, senna, melag. graminis, a spoonful every two hours. Some hours afterwards the "spitting of blood and retching were little altered," and there was profuse perspiration. The next day he was worse. Prescription: local blood-letting, to which however the patient would not submit. He wanted homœopathic assistance. His medical attendant in vain tried to dissuade him from it, and finally declared that he would continue to attend in spite of the homœopathic treatment, but first prescribed a powder containing sulphur, saltpetre and cream of tartar in equal parts, a teaspoonful to be taken every hour. In the afternoon the homœopathic physician, Dr. Trinks, was sent for; he being prevented through business from attending himself, sent his assistant Surgeon Lehmann. Lehmann gave his report of Leischke's state to Trinks at eleven o'clock at night when he returned from his visit, whereupon Trinks, who was still occupied with the first trial, resigned the case and sent word to this effect to Leischke at 8.45 next morning. Lehmann had ordered all allopathic medicines to be left off, but had purposely prescribed nothing himself.

The patient was now obliged to have recourse to the homœopath, Dr. Wolf. As Wolf was not at home his wife sent the Surgeon Helwig to the patient. Helwig, though according to the law of that time, not allowed to treat internal maladies, nevertheless gave aconite, and later bryonia, though it was illegal for the medical attendant to dispense his own medicines. He expected that Wolf

would continue the treatment. But the sword of Damocles of judicial prosecution for neglect of bleeding and other "scientific" measures, was always suspended over the heads of the homœopaths. Wolf, therefore, after hearing Helwig's report, declined to take the case. Helwig, thereupon, begged the allopath Siebenhaar to continue his treatment, and this he "finally consented" to do, "but without being able to effect anything, for the unfortunate patient died just about that time," on 24th July, the fourth day of his illness. The above facts are admitted by both sides.

Siebenhaar now, as he himself narrates, consulted his colleagues as to what course he should pursue, and the *Stadtphysicus*, Dr. Kuhn, already spoken of in connexion with the previous trial, took proceedings against the homœopaths, but the judicial authorities did not consider "that a legal post-mortem examination was necessary, I therefore had to content myself with a private autopsy on the afternoon of July 26, in the presence of Drs. Kuhn, Schrag [both of whom took part in the first trial,] and Leonhardi." We must here remark that Helwig in vain demanded to be allowed to be present. The private post-mortem showed "one lung engorged with blood," which "was adherent in several places, especially on the left side, to the chest walls." "The left lung was besides partially hepatised in various places, and at some points mortification had set in."

"The conclusion drawn from this post-mortem could naturally be no other than that Leischke had died from the effects of violent inflammation of the lungs ending in gangrene." We must here remind our readers that homœopathy was, at that time, reproached with causing gangrene of the inflamed parts by the neglect of bleeding. The judicial proceedings against homœopathy were commenced and the documents were sent to the Court of Judicature of Leipzic, and this Court, after receiving a report from the Medical Faculty, condemned Drs. Trinks and Wolf to a fine for neglecting a summons for medical help, and Helwig to imprisonment for four weeks for treating without a license and for illegal dispensing, Lehmann to six months

imprisonment with hard labour, because "the patient, when Lehmann visited him, was in a condition requiring instant medical treatment as with every moment his life became more jeopardised," "and the violent inflammation took on a fatal character from the postponement of the requisite treatment till next morning."

Lehmann therefore acted with culpable negligence. Lehmann was the person who told the patient suffering from vomiting of mucus and bile to leave off the allopathic medicine (a mixture of sulphur, saltpetre and cream of tartar, according to the statement of the allopath himself, a teaspoonful every hour), and to do nothing in the meantime. "Lehmann, as he was not himself qualified to treat medically, should have sent for a properly qualified physician. He should have communicated Dr. Trinks' decision not to treat the patient some hours sooner."

The accused appealed, and the Juridical Faculty of Leipzig was empowered to pronounce judgment. This court acquitted all except Helwig, who was obliged to undergo his four weeks' imprisonment.*

It is interesting to read the report of the Medical Faculty of Leipzig. It pronounced: "That in such cases sudden death or relapse into slow consumption could only be

* Our own criminal jurisprudence can show a case that will match these two processes in German law courts. In September, 1849, our late colleague, Dr. C. T. Pearce, was consigned to Newgate on the verdict of a coroner's jury, which found him guilty of the manslaughter of his brother, Mr. R. D. Pearce, whom he attended during an attack of cholera for a few days, until he himself was laid up with the same disease, when the case was handed over to an allopathic surgeon under whose care Mr. R. D. Pearce died. To get them to pass this monstrous verdict the jury had to be harangued and brow-beaten for two hours and a half by the deputy-coroner, Mr. M. Wakley, who presided in the place of his father, Mr. T. Wakley, who combined in his person the slightly incongruous functions of Coroner for Middlesex and Editor and Proprietor of *The Lancet* (the organ of rampant allopathy, called after the phlebotomizing instrument now, happily, rendered obsolete by homœopathy). Though only "Crowner's quest law," this infamous sentence was hailed as a splendid triumph over homœopathy by all the organs of the dominant clique. See *Brit. Jour. of Hom.*, VIII., p. 70.—[ED.]

obviated by repeated venesectsions." "That in such inflammations bleeding must be practised once, twice, or even three times." Siebenhaar complains of the judgment of the Juridical Faculty of Leipzig, because the interposition of the homœopaths took from him the opportunity of employing efficacious treatment. (page 35) "Leischke's resolution to be treated homœopathically prevented me from employing the other indicated remedies—namely, repeated blood-letting and epispastics."

On page 22, Siebenhaar writes :—

Daily experience is too conclusive in favour of bleeding.....We must consider the actual facts of the case ; the patient died suffocated in his own blood, as in spite of the bleeding already performed, the post-mortem examination showed the lung gorged with blood and in parts gangrenous, and the liver was also found to be congested with blood, and it can only be supposed that the physician (Dr. Müller), who said that a further venesection would be superfluous or even injurious, must have been making a bad joke. When the latter (Dr. Müller) in support of his position, promulgated the proposition "that the allopaths do not know and will not learn that homœopathic treatment can supersede bleeding with its consequent weakness and slow recovery of the patient ;" this shows the incredible infatuation of Dr. Müller in believing Trinks' fables* on the one hand, and his astonishing impudence in presuming to persuade rational physicians of this on the other hand. For none but a credulous visionary can believe that such inflammatory diseases can be cured by Hahnemann's method, in spite of the many examples recorded in various periodicals by the deceivers.

Siebenhaar continues, page 24 :—

This point is emphasized the further it is pursued, and the law should take cognizance of the neglect of bleeding in other well-marked diseases, such as sanguineous apoplexy, encephalitis, enteritis, &c.

The further consideration of these medico-forensic matters would however occupy me too long, and I will now content myself with the quotation of our respected colleague Staatsrath Hufeland's remark in his masterly treatise *Die Homœopathie*, published in the *Journal der praktischen Heilkunde*, 1830, page 24 [the reader already knows it.] "He who neglects bleeding where life is at stake and death is the result, has the sin of blood-guiltiness on his conscience, which will weigh terribly upon him.....he should be punished by law.....he is a murderer by omission."

* See *Sendschreiben an Hufeland*, p. 30.

Hahnemann saw and heard the behaviour of the allopaths. He had left the refutation of his opponents to his adherents. These events took place in the years 1829 and 1830. In 1831 a book by him: *Die Allöopathie, ein Wort der Warnung** appeared. This work may be regarded as an answer to these fanatical attacks. In 1830 appeared Hufeland's well-known article containing the expressions: "voice of thunder"—"murderers"—"punishment by the law," &c., which was cited with approval by many. Hahnemann's patience tried by the long conflict seemed to be now completely exhausted. Not we, he says, but *you* are the murderers of the patients. "This irrational antipathic and barbarous treatment, with its repeated bleedings, leeches and depleting medicines, brings thousands every year to their grave." "Truly! an excellent, privileged method to put the flower of mankind quietly out of the way wholesale. Are we to call this a rational method of healing? Treatment of the cause?"

Probably with reference to the criminal prosecutions, he advises his adherents "not to receive at any price those patients who have been injured to the verge of incurability by the allopathic exterminatory art." We must realise the "stand-point of science" of that time, and the attitude assumed by it, in order to be able to understand these words.

First let the patients be again restored by these titled destroyers of health to the former state of natural disease they were in before these medical attacks upon their lives were perpetrated—if they are able to do it! Allopaths deserve for their determined adhesion to their antiquated homicidal treatment nothing but contempt and abhorrence, and impartial history will brand their names with a stigma on account of their scornful rejection of the real aid which they might have afforded to their much-to-be-pitied patients, had they not impiously closed their eyes and ears against beneficent truth!

Hornburg was one of Hahnemann's pupils in Leipzig. He had passed the examination for the bachelor's degree, and had visited the hospitals for a year. He occasionally treated patients in the town homœopathically, and this

* Hahnemann's *Lesser Writings*, p. 827.

drew down upon him the hostility of the doctors. Also the fact of his attending Hahnemann's lectures gave offence to the professors. He took every opportunity to openly and courageously oppose the old system. He was an intelligent, thoroughly well-educated man, and highly enthusiastic on behalf of homœopathy. Probably many a patient recovered under his treatment who had been brought to death's door by the murderous treatment of the Leipzig doctors and professors. He was denounced on every possible occasion, and punished sometimes by fines and sometimes by imprisonment. His homœopathic medicine chest was confiscated by command of the Dean of the University, and was buried by the beadle in the burial ground of St. Paul's Church.

Notwithstanding this he studied diligently, and according to the testimony of his contemporaries, was a man of great medical knowledge (on which account he was much valued by Hahnemann), but he was nevertheless twice rejected by the professors in his examinations. He went to Giessen, from which, however, he was turned away, and had no better fortune at Marburg. Having returned to Leipzig he practised there with great success, but was often involved in judicial processes, the excitement of which gradually shattered his health. The greatest distress was brought upon him by the issue of a criminal investigation in which he was involved in the year 1831, on account of his treatment of a woman who was suffering from a very violent pleurisy. The woman did not, however, die under his treatment, but only after she had been treated for nine days by Professor and Hofrath Clarus, who himself denounced Hornburg, and insisted on the investigation being dragged on through two years. The anxiety he went through during this time had a very injurious effect on his bodily health. He was attacked with chronic disease of the lungs, which, in the spring of 1833, was followed by influenza. In the summer his condition had improved considerably; he then received his sentence of two months' imprisonment for unlicensed practice, and for preventing the employment

of scientific treatment in a case which terminated fatally. He was three days after this attacked by repeated hæmoptysis, and was buried some months later. A great number of the inhabitants of Leipzig escorted his body to the grave.*

In the year 1843, the homœopath, Dr. Baumgarten, of Magdeburg, undertook the treatment of a servant maid, seventeen years old, named Christiana Knoll. She had been ill for fourteen days and was in a hopeless condition. She suffered from exudative inflammation of the pleura and pericardium. Her pallid appearance, the blueish grey colour of her lips and nose, the shortness of her breath, the immobility of the thorax and the abdominal respiration, finally, her total lack of appetite led Baumgarten to form an unfavourable prognosis. Three days later the fatal result followed. A judicial post-mortem examination was instituted, and it was found that the patient had died from exudative inflammation of the pleura and pericardium. The municipal physician declared that death apparently resulted from want of proper treatment. Remedies against inflammation, such as blood-letting, saltpetre, mercury, tartar emetic, should have been employed. The Medical College of the province of Saxony when asked for their opinion held that such illnesses were fatal even under judicious treatment. With regard to the question of medical treatment they could say nothing more than that they, and with them all those doctors who from time immemorial practised the recognised ordinary methods of treatment, would have treated the patient differently and according to the method laid down by the medical men who made the post-mortem examination. But, as they knew the State allowed homœopathic treatment, they could not enter upon a criticism of it.

The scientific Faculty of Medicine of Berlin did not agree with this judgment :

Because the experience of centuries had shown that acute inflammation of the pleura, the lungs, the heart and the pericardium could only be removed by a certain indispensable mode of treatment.

* *Allg. hom. Zeitung*, Vol. IV., p. 75, and *Archiv f. d. hom. Heilk.*

The treatment pursued for centuries was blood-letting, mercury, tar-tar emetic, saltpetre, emetics and aperients. Homœopathic treatment could not replace this efficacious mode of treatment. If our medical examining bodies are obliged very properly to reject every young doctor who holds therapeutic views like those of Dr. Baumgarten,* the tolerance shown by the Medical College in this unfortunate case cannot be justified. If only for the sake of example, it would be wise to call upon Dr. Baumgarten to justify himself from the charges brought against him by the medical men who made the autopsy.

Dr. Baumgarten was also called upon by the Royal Government in Magdeburg to justify his practice, which he very soon did and in a most satisfactory manner.†

These few examples, to which many might be added, must suffice to show how the allopaths used the power of the State under their control in this important contest.

The question of the harmfulness of the allopathic, or as they called it, "rational" "anti-inflammatory" treatment of that day has been finally decided, and that too by the "rational" physicians of to-day, against the "rational" treatment of that time. It is now a matter of history that the allopathic treatment attacked by the homœopaths has been condemned by the modern representatives of allopathy. With regard to this weighty question, history teaches us as follows :—

* The conduct of the German Examining Bodies in rejecting candidates suspected of homœopathic proclivities has been paralleled in more than one instance by our own Medical Faculties. The Faculty of the University of Edinburgh in 1851 rejected Mr. A. C. Pope, because he would not bind himself never to practise homœopathically. The Faculty of St. Andrews made a futile request to Dr. Hale to return the diploma he had recently acquired by examination, because it (the Faculty consisted of one man, Dr. Day) had discovered that he was practising homœopathically. The Faculty of Aberdeen refused to allow Mr. Harvey to complete his examinations until he should make a declaration that "he had not practised, and did not entertain any intention of practising professionally on other principles than those taught and sanctioned in this and other legally recognised schools of medicine." As Mr. Harvey believed in the truth of Hahnemann's therapeutic rule, he refused to make any such declaration, so the Faculty refused to complete his examinations for its degree. The Medical Act, 1858, fortunately deprived British examining bodies of the power to practise such iniquities in the future. See *Brit. Jour. of Hom.*, IX., 513, 609, XVI., 529.—[ED.]

† *Allg. hom. Ztg.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 321.

That medical school whose treatment was in most cases more dangerous than the disease, and which did so much mischief among all classes of citizens, was then armed with the power of the State, it enjoyed unbounded confidence and was supported by the State in its campaign against the hated homœopathy. The State lent its authority and its arm to those against whom it ought to have shielded the public and oppressed that party which effected much more favourable results.

An idea can be formed of the character of the personal intercourse between allopaths and homœopaths from the preceding. Trinks wrote in 1830, *Die Homœopathie, Sendschreiben an Hufeland* (Dresden, 1830), which discusses Hufeland's expressed opinion on homœopathy :

Hufeland had declared : "Liberty of thought, freedom for science is our principal palladium ; no kind of despotism—no autocracy, no forcing of conscience."

Trinks remarks on this (p. 6, &c.)

But what penalties did not the allopaths attempt to enforce against homœopathy, its founder and its adherents? They had then, and still have, to bear the despotism of the medical caste spirit, the iron pressure of the most abominable intolerance. I will give you a sketch of this sad state of affairs, which you can never witness, because you live far from the arena first entered by homœopathy. The founder of homœopathy, a venerable old man, then living at Leipzig, was ridiculed and scorned by physicians, lampooned in satirical poems and assailed by every calumny that could throw discredit on his personal character. His disciples and audience, all who approached him to become better acquainted with the system of treatment discovered by him, met with the same fate, the most undeserved contempt ; they were, as it were, excluded from the caste of doctors as the Pariahs by the Hindoos. Even this did not suffice, they were persecuted in every possible way, and hindered in the prosecution of their career. At last the intrigues to drive away the founder of homœopathy were crowned with success, and a universal shout of joy for their victory burst from his enemies. Hahnemann's oldest admirer and disciple, Staph, of Naumburg, met with the same fate. He, too, was scorned and ridiculed in every possible way like his master, and lived for many years as one under a ban among his professional brethren.

Moritz Müller, of Leipzig, respected by all alike as a man and a phy-

sician, suffered a like fate, after having publicly spoken in favour of homœopathy. Many doctors who had previously been friendly with him now avoided his society, and broke off all connexion with him, not to mention other unpleasantnesses which he had to suffer. I myself have experienced the oppression of this medical despotism in the highest degree. For two years I have been exposed to all manner of persecutions which could be devised by refined malice, slander, and malignant envy.

It is certainly difficult in the midst of these persecutions to preserve one's faith in mankind ; it is still more difficult not to refuse one's esteem to a clique who, in their blind hatred, do not hesitate to assail the reputation of honourable and upright men, and who leave nothing untried to destroy what is man's most dearly cherished possession.

And all this befel the founder of homœopathy and its adherents for the simple reason that they treated diseases on different principles, and because they cured patients who had been left uncured by the practitioners of the allopathic school.

Amidst all these unpleasantnesses heaped upon us, we find comfort in the consciousness that we are suffering and striving for a cause which is a blessing to humanity, and which will extend its beneficent influence still further when these persecutions have ceased and the practice of this mode of treatment has been freed from the fetters which the despotism of intolerance has laid upon it ; and, then too, the time will have come when the outside world will no longer look upon homœopathy as a dangerous chimera, and its adherents as dangerous day dreamers, when it will recognise that humanity must bless us for it.

I would not on any account possess the reputation of the opponents of homœopathy, the reputation of having caused the most ruthless persecutions of their fellow-creatures, because they thought and acted differently from the teachings of Galenic dogmatism.

History, which is always a just and impartial judge, will some day write the story of those who sinned so grievously against the new system, against its founder, its adherents and its friends. This epoch will form a chapter in the history of medicine similar to that formed in the world's history by the religious fanaticism of Louis XIV.

Innumerable proofs of the persecuting fury of the allopaths are to be found in homœopathic writings—we call it “persecuting fury,” for what other term can describe the conduct of those who, because they were incensed at the spread of homœopathy sought to throw infamous imputations on the personal character of the homœopaths, and even attacked their families in their blind fanaticism ? Bulky volumes might be written on these unworthy allopathic attacks.

But everywhere the very significant fact is patent that the violence of the strife was in proportion to the spread of homœopathy. So that after the cholera epidemic, in which the adherents of Hahnemann obtained such immensely superior results to those of the rational school, it attained a height which has never been surpassed to the present day. We must transport ourselves to that time to understand the actual condition of affairs.

In July, 1831, the fear is expressed in Hufeland's *Journal* that cholera, which had reached our borders through the Russo-Polish war, might cross them, and doctors rummaged their armoury for weapons with which to attack this murderous enemy—"stronger remedies than those hitherto used." Such were aurum muriaticum, oxygen gas, charcoal, quinine, as "cholera very closely resembles intermittent fever;" then, too, there were the absorbents—"to absorb the poison out of the *primæ viae*," "the absorbents are coming into favour." Ol. cajeputi, oil to be taken internally, &c. People read with terror that "in the corpses of those who died of cholera, vessels gorged with blood were to be found in the right ventricle of the heart and the *vena cava*, also in the lungs, the liver, &c." We say they read "with terror," for where blood was thus found congested in the corpses, on scientific principles the patients must be bled during life. But "science" could surely hardly go so far as to bleed in cases of cholera. In the same place it was said: "The blood is black and as thick as tar, contains little serum, and at last becomes like pap. Icy coldness of the whole body, even of the tongue, supervenes:" it was rather to be expected that blood should be added than taken away.

Doubt did not last long on this point, for soon after the notices from Russia appeared, we read: "A vein is at once and without any delay to be opened, and as much blood taken from the patient as seems suitable to his condition." "This remedy was considered to be indicated in nearly all cases."

As an internal remedy calomel, combined with opium, was to be administered. A second article appeared "from the pen of an intelligent physician." Blood-letting, leeches, cupping and mustard plasters are the chief remedies recommended, and blood-letting is literally the first and the last remedy mentioned in this article.

In the following number, further suggestions as to the remedies for cholera are made. The first is "emetics," and Hufeland says, "the proposal is worthy of consideration." Let us put ourselves in Hahnemann's position, witnessing all these preparations. A Dr. Mayer (an allopath) of Berlin thus expresses himself:—

In spite of the many opponents of Hahnemann's preventive of scarlet fever I find that not only men such as Berndt, Düsterweg Formey, Bloch, Schenk, etc.,* uphold it, but I have (though this may not be very important in the eyes of others) myself experienced the benefit of it on various occasions in my practice of ten years. Dr. Rüttel found lately in the case of an epidemic of scarlet fever that belladonna in the proportion of four grains to an ounce of water, where the danger was still distant, and the remedy had been taken for twelve to fourteen days, was a perfect prophylactic. But where the infection was close at hand and even in the house, scarlet fever broke out while the medicine was being taken, but in a much milder form.

Though I cannot explain to myself the favourable influence of belladonna in scarlet fever, I entertain the hope that it may prove a preventive in the case of cholera by allaying the irritation of the plexus solaris present in that disease.

"Heaven preserve me from my friends," may well have been the exclamation of Hahnemann if he saw this proposal.

Others recommended opium, the prohibition of all drink, "which was a dreadful measure considering the unbearable thirst present"—zinc, bismuth, musk with camphor, ipecacuanha, valerian, sal volatile, hartshorn, natron carbon.,

* All allopaths, to whom the names of Hufeland and Prof. Masius, of Rostock, and others should be added. Comp. Hufeland's *Journal*, 1812, St. 5, p. 120; 1814, St. 5, p. 44; 1815, St. 1, p. 123; 1820, St. 2, p. 3—24, where the successful results obtained by many allopaths are collected; 1820, St. 2, p. 3—14; 1823, St. 4, p. 3—17; 1831, St. 2, p. 108; 1832, St. 3, p. 109; 1835, St. 6, p. 24.

menth. piperit., arnica, colombo, cascarilla with naphtha and opium, tinct. aromatica, calam. arom., cold douches and always leeches and emetics, and cinchona "on account of its resemblance to intermittent fever."

While these preparations were being made the cholera had already crossed the borders of our fatherland, and the doctors commenced business. The Professors undertook to lead, the allopathic doctors obeyed as usual. Let us then see what was taught by one such leader, Professor Dr. Moritz Hasper, of the Leipzig Faculty of Medicine, in Hufeland's *Journal*, Sept., 1831. After admitting that in no disease have remedies so opposite been proposed and used, he writes:—

It is clear that in almost all countries cholera patients but very rarely recover without the aid of medicine [he adduces the testimony of seven doctors for this. Then follows a scientific account of the pathology of cholera]. The thick black condition of the blood in all the venous system, the congestion of blood in almost all the internal organs—the brain, lungs, liver; further the suppression of cutaneous perspiration, and the stoppage of the flow of bile, show that the flow of blood from the outer parts of the body has been forced to the inner organs, and has disturbed the functions of these organs. By the clogging of the blood in the heart its action is paralysed, by the engorgement of black blood in the brain, the symptoms of stupor, deafness, giddiness, buzzing in the ears and dilatation of the pupils observed during the disease are to be explained; for Brodie and Bichat have proved by observation and experiment that such a condition of the blood hinders the functions of the brain like a narcotic poison. These stagnations of the blood always correspond to the violence of the symptoms. The stagnation of the blood in the lungs explains the feeling of anxiety and the shortness of breath. Where suffocation is the cause of death, blood is always found accumulated in the lungs; so, too, the inhaling of charcoal fumes produces similar symptoms, and like the gases in mines brings about a rapidly fatal result.....If we go a step farther and compare the action of other poisons on our organism we shall obtain a great deal of light on the subject of cholera.

The experiments of Fontana with snake poison, of Majendie and Delille with upas poison are given in detail, the experiments of Brodie and others are mentioned in order to show "that most poisons and contagia first pass through the blood and from thence produce disturbances in

the nervous system." After further statements on the affinities of certain contagia for special organs, as for example cholera poison for the mucous membrane of the stomach and bowels, he declares cholera to be a disease communicable through the air, by human beings and by fomites, which produces decomposition of the blood, "of which the cruor and fibrine or the black carbonaceous blood accumulates in the internal organs, injures the nervous system, produces cramps, &c., and also secretions from the mucous membrane of the stomach and bowels, and thence diarrhoea and vomiting."

The method of cure to be pursued is clearly indicated :

- 1.—Removal of the congestion of the internal organs, and
- 2.—The morbid matter accumulated in the bowels is to be removed or rendered innocuous.

The first indication is fulfilled by practising, at the commencement of the disease before the pulse at the wrist has ceased beating, copious bleedings, applying irritants to the skin and giving stimulating remedies. The second indication is fulfilled by giving calomel, castor oil, emetics, absorbents and acids.

The conclusion is "that as a general principle blood-letting, together with the external and internal application of stimulating remedies, form the first and principal remedies."

A long list of remedies "against individual symptoms" is then recommended, to satisfy the requirements of "science."

F. Hoffmann, Vater, Sauvages and others are quoted as vouchers for the usefulness of bleeding ; about sixty authors and several great medical societies of that time are adduced in support of these scientific therapeutics. They all agree that blood-letting at the beginning is the most sovereign remedy.

We will not detain the reader with a detailed account of the medical treatment of cholera ; it is a highly unexhilarating subject, which however requires to be touched upon to make the situation clear. We will only quote just a few sentences as specimens from this "rational" treatise.

This case is one of those where, with Lichtenstadt, we cannot refrain from observing that, with repeated bleeding, the patient might, perhaps, have recovered.....

In this woman (case 26—she died), hardly a teacupfull of thick, viscid clotted blood could be drawn. Why was not another vein opened?

Herr von Loder of Moscow rejects bleeding in this disease :—

- (a) Because it is not of an inflammatory nature.
- (b) Because blood-letting is weakening.

One can hardly believe that such reasons should be regarded as sufficient by so respected a man. Do we not bleed in cases of congestion of certain important organs, in asphyxia, &c., states where there is no inflammation?

Still more remarkable is the second ground alleged—viz. : that bleeding weakens the vital force. On the contrary, bleeding may even have a strengthening effect, as is shown, not only in cases of inflammation of the more important organs where the whole body is as it were paralysed, in inflammation of the heart, inflammation of the lungs, croup, &c., but also generally in the case in cholera, and this is confirmed by the opinions of the best practitioners who have observed and treated cholera, as also by the testimony of the patients after the bleeding has been performed.

Hasper states: “That nearly all medical men who have had opportunities of observing cholera, or what is more important, have taken the trouble to compare the results of different methods of treatment, will agree with us in this.” And here he is undoubtedly right. More than 300 cholera pamphlets appeared at that dreadful time, and a great many of them were by professors. No pamphlet by a professor is known which protests against bleeding in cholera. “If,” says Professor Hasper, “the mass of blood is diminished, the heart is in a condition to contract again, oxydisation or decarbonisation of the blood, and this is still more important, can be resumed, so that arterial, oxydised blood can be conducted to other organs.” This was scientific, and no homœopathic scoffer with his “unscientific impudence,” as they called it, could attack the position.

Small bleedings do not appear to be of any use, and this is the reason why many practitioners, who, for fear of weakening the patient, only ventured to draw 6, 8 or 10 ounces, brought bleeding into discredit, and declared it to be useless. A large opening must be made in the vein, in order that the blood may flow out in a free stream, if the patient is to be really relieved.

“Bleed freely” is repeated in at least ten places in this truly scientific pamphlet, which is adorned with all the

medical learning of the time. "Leeches," "bleeding," the words meet the reader on every page; even the application of a red-hot iron to the stomach is recommended.

What were the results? According to Professor Hasper they were everywhere favourable where the bleeding was sufficiently copious. But as this advice was almost everywhere followed by the allopaths, the whole result ought to have been a favourable one, and this hardly agrees with the fact that, according to Hufeland's *Journal* and others, more than half the cholera patients died.

Hasper gives the following statistics: 1,294 cholera patients who had no medical aid all died; of 14,651 cases which had the advantage of medical treatment only $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. died.

Of other 1,507 cholera patients, who remained without medical treatment, 1,255 died. This last collection were more fortunate than the former 1,294 who perished root and branch without exception. From this then it is evident that the homœopaths with their "nothings," could see only corpses as a result of their treatment of cholera.

An account with authentic proofs by 100 doctors declared that blood-letting, *i.e.*, copious blood-letting, is the best means of cutting short and curing cholera. Scott said that "the occurrence of syncope during bleeding in cholera is a favourable sign." "Collapse is not the result of loss of blood, but it is, on the contrary, put an end to by it; it is apt to occur if a small quantity of blood only is drawn."

And such stuff was believed. It *must* be so—it was proved scientifically. On p. 38, it is asserted that the "black blood (as it is found in cholera) acts like a narcotic poison." Therefore the larger the quantity of the narcotic poison removed, the freer must the body be from it. And the addle-headed homœopaths could not see that.

Corbyn is one of the first who used bleeding in cases of cholera with favourable results. Of 110 patients he only lost two old decrepit persons. Annesley did not lose one among fifty patients, because he practised bleeding at an early stage.

Annesley himself gives us information which hardly

agrees with these statistics of Hasper.* He says that the treatment of cholera hitherto pursued filled him with horror, and therefore he resolved to follow the indications of nature. He then gives the results of his treatment of thirteen cholera patients. In the first case the patient had been bled three times without any improvement before he was placed in Annesley's hands. Annesley opened his veins a fourth time, but no blood came and the patient died. In the second case again bleeding was followed by death. In this way twelve patients were treated, and all twelve were dissected, for they all died. The thirteenth patient, an officer, would not consent to be bled. Annesley declined all responsibility for the patient, and he got better in spite of science and the indications of nature. And Annesley? He calmly continued to bleed, and had plenty of opportunities of performing post-mortems. Hasper continues:—

Boyd lost only two patients out of twenty-eight when he bled freely. Burrel only lost two patients out of eighty-eight, who were all copiously bled; Craw, with the same treatment, only lost one out of 100. Dempster confirms this treatment by similar results. Gravier says that bleeding may have a favourable result even when all the signs of approaching death have appeared, when the limbs are cold and the oppression is great.....At a later period Gravier recommends only leeches. Colledge states that all died who were not bled, and all recovered who were.

And so on through many pages. Incidentally less favourable results appear, but even these are made to bear out the case for bleeding. The sources from which he derived his information are unfortunately not given by the Professor. As, therefore, these accounts are too one-sided for us to be able to have any confidence in the statements when contradicted by well-authenticated facts, we must turn to another author. We choose Krüger-Hansen; he did not like Hahnemann, but was also no friend of "rational" medicine. He wrote a book *Die Homöopathie und Allopathie auf der Wage*, and in it is described the ordinary treatment

* *On the Asiatic Cholera, from Observations and Autopsies*, translated by G. Himly, 1831. Rosenberg, *Fortschritte und Leistungen der Homöopathie*, Leipzig, 1843, p. 221.

of cholera to which he was strongly opposed. The following description is taken chiefly from this book:—

Really it is the turn of the homeopaths to laugh when we consider that the allopaths sought the seat of the disease now in the spinal cord, now in the nervous system, in the blood, the skin, the bile, or the bowels. One looked upon it as an intermittent fever, others regarded it as a kind of typhus, epilepsy, colic, dysentery, intestinal exanthem, &c. Some thought that parasites, called *cholerills*, were the cause of the epidemic ; Hahnemann was of this opinion. Rothamel gave the most exact definition : Cholera is a composite disease often of dynamic, generally of asthenic, seldom of hypersthenic and hardly ever of an active, nature.* Those who thought the disease was caused by a poison proceeded energetically to destroy it, or at least remove it from the body. For this purpose, patients were made to inhale suffocating chlorine, were bathed in lime water, were dosed with emetics, &c. Those who sought for the source of the poison in the blood, or who thought that the bowels were inflamed, bled, and this was the almost universal treatment. Mercury, too, was largely used. Others treated only symptomatically ; if the body was cold and stiff, frictions, vapour baths, hot drinks and hot water bottles were employed ; wrapping up the patient in horse dung and the warm skins of newly flayed animals was even recommended ; if the patient was attacked with sickness, mercury was administered to cause stools ; if the patient was purging, but not vomiting, emetics were given ; if the patient had cramps, so-called anti-spasmodics of all sorts mixed together were administered in the hope that some one might avail. Corporations of physicians boldly recommended bleeding, emetics, mercury, and diaphoretics. There were cases in which young and robust persons took six to eight powders of 25 to 40 grains of ipecacuanha, each one strengthened with two to six grains of sulphate of zinc, to begin with. Many doctors carried about emetics with them, and administered them to all who complained of incipient symptoms of cholera. Most doctors advised bleeding under given conditions. These conditions were very frequently present. In all this misery the allopathic doctors disputed among themselves in no very gentle manner.

Sachs, of Königsberg, looked upon the 300 cholera pamphlets that had appeared as so unimportant that the few valuable ones could all be carried about conveniently in the pocket of a practitioner. He himself wrote a work 400 pages long on the subject, which contained the following musings:—

* *Med. Conversat. Blatt*, 1831, No. 41. *Die Allöopathie*, 1834, No. 17.

It will hardly be necessary to inform the intelligent practitioner that our recommendation of opium by no means excludes the use of moderate local bleeding where this appears necessary, even if only symptomatically, and to tide over some temporary difficulty.

In what follows we at once perceive in Professor Sachs, the scientific teacher :—

The highly fatal collision which is produced by this nervous fever (cholera), between agility and atony, whereby both mutually intensify one another and aggravate the whole condition ; this collision is often rapidly allayed by the decisive action of opium, which increases the intensive energy of the blood, and the steadiness and mutual harmonious limitation of the organic functions is restored, so that each one is set to rights in its own action and can be of unimpeded service to the others.

Professor Kieser, of Jena, thus prefaced a pamphlet of his disciple, Von Rein, on *Oriental Cholera* :—

The pan-epidemic of Cholera has written with ineffaceable characters in the history of medicine the empirical character of contemporary medicine, and its utter irrationality. The Turk instinctively treats this disease more successfully than does the European, with his pretensions to wisdom. In this monograph on the cholera, the first that has appeared of a scientific character, the various questions that demand solution are solved in the most satisfactory manner..... for the first time a scientific theory of treatment has been advanced, based on a scientific knowledge of the nature of the disease, worked out by the sick bed, and approved by the most successful practical results..... After maturely weighing the investigations, observations and practical results laid down in this pamphlet, we can even affirm with certainty that now that the nature of cholera and the appropriate plan of treatment to be pursued are no longer doubtful, it is likely to be exceeded in fatality by many other diseases.

We read on eagerly after such promises. Kieser is known to us from the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen* as an energetic advocate of bleeding, but subsequently in his *System of Medicine* he gives utterance to the often-quoted saying, "In the present condition of medical practice, both in Germany and the neighbouring countries, every patient should be warned to shun the doctor as he would the most virulent poison." So in the year 1825, in Hufeland's *Journal*,* he considers it wrong to "draw blood by pounds in all pulmonary diseases, and to let the patient die

* Vol. LX., st. 2, p. 40.

from loss of blood," as the blind anti-phlogistic party do. Kieser seems, then, to have come to his senses in the course of years, and we, therefore, expect to find in him an opponent of the horrible allopathic treatment. What, then, does Kieser advise? The treatment of cholera must be that of inflammatory, gastric, nervous fever. *The principal remedy is blood-letting*, proportioned to the strength of the patient and the intensity of the disease; in cases, then, of the most intense form of cholera, and where the patient was previously robust, blood-letting, from four to five pounds, is desirable; and even before the disease is fully developed such a mode of proceeding is useful. Reason: "If after venesection to the extent of four to eight ounces, where the violence of the disease required four pounds, the patient, nevertheless, dies, it is wrong to look upon bleeding as having failed in its effect, or even as having been injurious. We could almost think that all sound judgment had deserted doctors [we hear the same assertions now made by professors on similar occasions], for if experience teaches us that a pound of blood can be drawn without injury from children of one to three years old affected with tracheitis and encephalitis, how can one hesitate to take several pounds from a cholera patient who was previously robust, when this does not imply nearly so much loss of blood to him as the one pound to the two years old child? We can hardly understand why practitioners do not once for all try bleeding experimentally on a large scale, as they have so many other remedies."

The fault then, according to Kieser, consisted in the fact that bleedings to the extent of one to two pounds of blood were too small, in this he agrees with other professors, Hasper for example.

This was rational medicine! And Kieser (died 1862) was "an authority of the first rank." He contributed largely to the development of physiology, particularly that of plants, to the science of the microscope, and to biology. Hundreds of doctors swore by his authority. His treatment of cholera has not yet, however, been fully described.

After blood-letting calomel is to be administered with magnesia, three to ten grains every hour, then follow cold baths for five to ten minutes, not douches as others recommended. Then an emetic may be administered, or the patient can again be bled, made to drink cold water and cold compresses may be applied to the shaved head. To get rid of the rest of the inflammation, six drachms of saltpetre or more in 24 hours, combined with liq. minder. when the stage of inflammation passes into the nervous stage. In cases where blood would not flow from the vein that had been opened Rein opened all the veins that he could see. In Hasper's article in Hufeland's *Journal* p. 59, it is stated: "Rein at once laid bare and opened to the extent of half-an-inch all the veins of the cholera patients which he could see on their bodies; but in spite of everything two hours were required in the case of each patient to squeeze out from four, six or eight veins two pounds of blood." Often even this was not possible. He then tried arteriotomy, but only a few ounces of blood were to be obtained from the temporal and radial arteries. Kieser asserts that Rein in his private practice "by pursuing this scientific treatment," out of thirty cases of the most severe kind of cholera did not lose one. We ask in astonishment, whether all these counsels and assertions are to be regarded as ironical—but alas! no, it is bitter, "rational" earnest.

It interests us especially to notice what weapons the allopaths in Austria used against this devastating disease. Here the consummation wished for by so many allopaths had been attained. The practice of homœopathy had been forbidden since 1819, in consequence of an imperial edict. The prohibition was not carried out very strictly, but it was the occasion of endless persecutions by the allopaths and apothecaries.

According to the *Medic. Jahrbücher des österreich. Staates* (vol. XII., p. 1), vomiting and diarrhoea are simply the healing efforts of nature "to get rid of substances deposited

in large quantity on the inner surface of the stomach and bowels, which the animal economy can no longer digest and assimilate." But if the vomiting was very stubborn it does not appear to have been considered as a "healing effort," for in this case opium, effervescent powders, River's drink, aq. lauroc., black coffee, ice, blisters, and theriac plasters were employed. In Hungary, morphia and pyroligneous acid were largely used. At the last period of the epidemic, the Austrian doctors, wishing to change passive into active diarrhoea, administered calomel in doses of half a grain every two hours, mixed with sugar or with magnesia and opium: "The extremely favourable effect of bleedings, local and general, when indicated, is admitted by all physicians. In the paralytic stage of the disease it is not only of no use, but increases the collapse and hastens the end." Krüger-Hansen remarks on this: "the doctors should have kept such confessions in their own bosoms, and not exposed themselves to the ridicule of the homœopaths!" Wawruch gives us an example of the disastrous results of the allopathic treatment in Vienna. He relates that 109 children were attacked by the disease in the lying-in hospital at Vienna at the time of the cholera epidemic, of whom 107 died; that is to say only two escaped with their lives (Krüger-Hansen).

Professor Bischoff treated seven patients for cholera in the hospital of the Joseph Academy at Vienna in December, 1831, with the most diverse remedies, six of them died; the seventh, who had just recovered from inflammation of the lungs, from the effects of the treatment of which he was still suffering, refused all remedies when attacked with cholera, he drank nothing but lemonade, and recovered.

In September, 1832, 121 Vienna and 83 foreign doctors assembled in Vienna on the occasion of the meeting of the *Naturforscherversammlung*. The treatment of cholera was discussed. Brodowicz, Bischoff and Wawruch spoke in favour of bleeding repeated four or five times during the attack of cholera; according to Obersteiner and Wirer, bleeding ought only to be employed in the "reaction stage." Bittner thought that the bleeding ought

to be limited, and Szóts quoted the favourable results of the treatment in Transylvania, where no bleeding, either general or local, had been practised. Finally Sterz and Herrmann spoke of the treatment of cholera by emetics. "It transpired," says Kruger-Hansen, "that in the university towns, where the medical teachers resided, the results of the treatment of cholera were much more unfavourable than in any other place, even in the country where there were no doctors." Hasper, the representative of "rational medicine," asserts the contrary.

What, then, were the results obtained by the homœopaths, who were very much over-worked at this time, when the cholera was raging. They themselves assert distinctly the superiority of their results over those obtained by "rational medicine." Their statistics are more favourable throughout than those of the allopaths, certainly with the exception of those of Hasper.

The allopaths *proved* scientifically the impossibility of better results being obtained by the homœopaths. If the latter asserted the contrary they could be proved to have lied by science. Those who recovered had simply not been suffering from cholera at all.

Hufeland calls cholera "this scandalum medicorum," in 1832, in his *Journal*, the April number, p. 4. He relates that no hindrance was put in the way of the homœopaths by the Prussian Government, a special hospital was even opened for them under the supervision of an "allopathic inspector."

But unfortunately this object was not completely attained. This was partly because, on account of the well-known rapidity of the dangerous symptoms of this disease, it was not possible always to summon the medical inspector quickly enough, partly because it was not always possible for him, however quickly he came, to convince himself of the existence of symptoms which had previously been there, but which had already disappeared. What hindered the working of it was however chiefly the fact that most patients had a repugnance to being taken to a hospital, and preferred to remain in their own dwellings, where it was impossible for the inspector to perform his part.

We must therefore receive the greater part of the experience obtained on the good faith of the homœopaths themselves. And it is undeniable that the proportion of those cured to those who died, was extremely favourable. Results still more favourable to the homœopathic method were reported to us from other places.

Hasper was probably thinking of those 1,294 fatal cases when he wrote :—"Those cases where the homœopathic method was employed proved most rapidly fatal."

Now-a-days no rational professor would venture on the assertion that the allopathic results were more favourable, and we can certainly say without fear of contradiction that the homœopaths were more successful than their opponents in the treatment of this disease.* We might gather this even from the renewed vehemence of the allopathic attacks.

* I may be permitted to add a couple of testimonies from the camp of its opponents to the superiority of homœopathy to the "rational" system in the treatment of cholera. The late Sir William Wilde, the well-known allopathic oculist of Dublin, in his work entitled *Austria and its Institutions*, says (p. 275): "Upon comparing the report of the treatment of cholera in the homœopathic hospital [testified to by two allopathic medical inspectors appointed by Government] with that of the treatment of the same disease in the other hospitals of Vienna during the same period [the epidemic of 1836], it appeared that while two-thirds of the cases treated by Dr. Fleischmann [the physician of the homœopathic hospital] recovered, two-thirds of those treated by the ordinary methods in the other hospitals died. This very extraordinary result led Count Kolowrat (Minister of the Interior) to repeal the law prohibiting the practice of homœopathy."

When the cholera epidemic visited London in 1854, the Board of Management of the London Homœopathic Hospital, then located in Golden Square, which happened to be the centre of the most severely affected part of the metropolis, cleared out the hospital for the reception of cholera patients only. The medical Inspector appointed by the Board of Health, Dr. Macloughlin, was requested to put the London Homœopathic Hospital on the list of institutions for the treatment of cholera, which he was to inspect and report on. This he willingly did, after thoroughly inspecting the arrangements. He also paid a daily visit of inspection to the hospital during the whole of the time it was engaged in receiving cases of cholera. The Board of Health had appointed a committee of medical men, presided over by Dr. Paris, the President of the College of Physicians, to collect the statistics of the treatment of cholera in London and to report to Parliament on the results of the various methods pursued in all the different institutions. When the report of this Treatment Committee appeared, it was observed that the returns of the London Homœopathic Hospital were altogether ignored. Some stir was made in the House of Commons by Lord R. Grosvenor—now Lord Ebury—about this omission, and this led to a separate Parliamentary paper being issued

All the evidence points to the fact that the spread of homœopathy increased rapidly during and after the cholera ; the self-reliance and confidence of the homœopaths grew, and the irritation of their opponents reached the highest pitch.

At the end of July, cholera broke out at Raab, in Hungary. According to authentic statistics, 640 died out of 1,501 patients who were treated allopathically.* The results of the homœopathic treatment of Dr. Bakody, who was settled in Raab, were much more favourable. So much so, that the inhabitants made an appeal through the newspapers for more homœopathic doctors to wage war against this dreaded foe ? The *Protomedicus* of Hungary, Dr. Lenhoscek did not consider this appeal suitable for publication, and in his capacity of censor refused to allow it to be printed, appending in his own hand the words "Pro typis non est qualificatum," so that the manuscript was returned to the sender, Franz von Parragh, "episcopal exactor" and advocate. After cholera had ceased at Raab, Bakody informed his friend Dr. Ant. Schmit, Physician to the Duke of Lucca, of his mode of treatment and the results obtained, and he, contrary to Bakody's wish, sent them for insertion to the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen*, which accepted the article.† It did not contain any expression in the least offensive to any physician, although Bakody had been subjected to the most severe attacks on the part of the allopaths of Raab.

containing the omitted returns of the London Homœopathic Hospital. From these returns it appeared that the number of cases treated in the Homœopathic Hospital was sixty-one, of whom ten died, giving a mortality of 16·4 per cent. From the other Parliamentary paper, issued under the editorship of the Treatment Committee, it appeared that the average mortality under the mode of treatment pursued in the other metropolitan hospitals was 51·8 per cent. The Government Inspector, Dr. Macloughlin, though himself belonging to the dominant sect, testified most handsomely to the severity of the cases treated in the London Homœopathic Hospital, and to the astonishing success of the treatment.—[ED.]

* *Rechtfertigung des Dr. von Bakody, &c.*, von Mor. Müller, Leipzig, 1832.

† In No. 321 of 1831.

Thereupon the County Physicus, Dr. Joseph v. Balogh, and the Town Physicus, Dr. Ant. Karpff published a rejoinder, in which it was asserted that the homœopathic statistics were false, that all the cholera patients treated by Bakody had died, and that the patients who had recovered had never had cholera. This article was embellished with the following flowers of rhetoric by these two gentlemen:—

The *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen* omitted them, but Mor. Müller has happily rescued them from oblivion—"Lying shameless scribbling"—"Facts misrepresented in the most pitiful way"—"Attacks of two medical incroyables (Bakody and Schmit) on an art accredited by the experience of a thousand years"—"The whole homœopathic clique." "Bakody is so unfortunate as to have become the butt of many non-professionals by reason of his want of *savoir faire*, his unprepossessing exterior (!!!) and his want of success in his treatment." "Medical forgers." "The word conscientious is out of place in the homœopathic jargon;" "The knight Don Quixote;" "Besides the eight cholera patients who were carried to the grave, Bokody neither saw nor treated any other cholera cases, else the homœopathic fanatics would have crowed still louder;" "Bakody.....took good care neither to hand in his reports to the town magistrate nor to make them known by his proselytes;" "medical juggler." This was the language used by the allopaths, Dr. Jos. von Balogh, the County Physicus, and Dr. Anton Karpff, the Town Physicus. Bakody rejoined in a most dignified manner, and produced 112 legally attested certificates relating to 154 cholera patients treated by him, of whom only six died. As his witnesses there appeared among others: a cathedral dignitary, who gave evidence in the name of the Bishop of Raab, respecting five members of the bishop's household who had been cured of cholera; further an evangelical preacher, a reformed preacher, a member of the bench of magistrates, three pastors, a count, a notary, an episcopal treasurer, a consistory counsellor, a member of the council, various merchants, mechanics, &c. Their tes-

timonies, together with expressions of gratitude to Bakody, are printed by Müller in the work alluded to.

One very favourite weapon of the opponents of homœopathy was the censorship of the press, especially in Hungary, but also in other countries.

Griesselich* writes on the subject:—

Dr. Kiesselbach of Hanau wished an account of the homœopathic treatment of croup to be inserted in a Kassel paper; the censor vetoed it, and the Kassel paper kept silence on the subject of croup and homœopathy. Hahnemann sent his treatment of cholera to the *Preussische Staats Zeitung*, but it could not be inserted because the Berlin censor, Prof. Kluge, would not allow it.

In 1831 a doctor in Cöthen published an attack on Hahnemann in the *Cöthener Zeitung* on account of his treatment of cholera, to which Hahnemann wished to respond in the same paper, but was refused permission because the censor was a friend of the doctor's. Hahnemann then had his rejoinder printed in Magdeburg, where no objection was raised. In Leipzig Hofrath Dr. Clarus wielded the censor's shears, of which fact we can obtain evidence in Stapf's *Archiv*, and Schweikert's *Zeitung*. The cholera is raging at Raab in Hungary; the public having witnessed Bakody's cures wishes to summon homœopaths thither. But the notice in the paper is refused insertion by the Protomedicus Lenhoscek as *pro typis non qualificatum*.

Considering the use made of the censorship we could almost think that there was something dangerous to the State in homœopathy; for as far as is known the censorship is only intended to keep peace in the States, but not to hinder doctors from curing, nor patients from being cured.

Krüger-Hansen† relates also that his pamphlets against blood-letting, &c., were sent back from the Austrian states to Leipzig with the observation: "the censor has not allowed them to pass."

Austria-Hungary was a pattern place for the allopaths. Read the article in the *Allgemeiner Ans. der Deutschen* (year 1833, p. 965). Not only was license given "to all base and

* *Skizzen aus der Mappe eines reisenden Homœopathen*, Karlsruhe, 1832, p. 128.

† *Brillenlose Reflexionen*, p. 19.

infamous attacks on the homœopaths," but such were even encouraged, and "the oppressed and attacked party was not only not allowed to plead its own cause, but was not even allowed to defend itself, and all attempts to do so were carefully suppressed." "Thus the medical censorship (wielded by the above-mentioned Dr. Lenhoscek) struck out the following true and beautiful passage from Hufeland's article on homœopathy,* which appeared in a Hungarian paper. 'No kind of despotism, no autocracy, no suppression of opinion; government itself has no right to interfere in scientific matters, either in preventing research, or in favouring exclusively one opinion; for both kinds of interference have done harm, as experience shows.' Not only were articles suppressed that directly concerned homœopathy, but even such as were likely to encourage ideas favourable to the principles of homœopathy. To prove this I may refer to two very modest treatises, one on simplicity in medicine and another on the imperfection of the present *materia medica*, which were rejected in the following terms." The remarks in Latin of the censor, Dr. Lenhoscek, are given at length, they are to the effect that nothing ought to be printed against the principles of scientific medicine, cultivated as it has been for so many centuries. Homœopaths might publish their observations, but they must not attack allopathy.

The permission here accorded was, however, only an empty consolation, as the editors of the only medical journal published in Hungary, were forbidden to accept homœopathic articles. But all this might have been more easily borne, as it was to be hoped that the advantages of the new system would become more and more known by deeds, if not by writings; but this was not all. The adherents of homœopathy were exposed to all possible insults and calumnies without being able to make any protest.

We are then told that a writer, Dr. Hanak, supported by the allopathic professor, Dr. Sch., and Dr. T., published a series of abusive articles in *Die Biene*, which do not leave the reader one moment in doubt as to the sentiments of these combatants. Here are some specimens:—"Among doctors there are not wanting Icaruses who, forgetting the waxen

* Hufeland's *Journal*, Feb., 1830.

composition of their wings, fly stupidly towards the sun, and falling into the sea of oblivion, have not even the good fortune of the son of Daedalus of rendering themselves immortal by their fall. Among these we must reckon all those who boast of their universal remedies and universal methods of healing, from Dr. Sangrado to the latest unlucky charlatans of medicine—the homœopaths.” “We must, indeed, anticipate that the homœopathic folly, like every other work of deceit and darkness, must of itself fall to the ground; but the friends of light perceive with pleasure that sensible doctors are already raising their voices against it.” The most sensible of all ought therefore to be Simon, who, as is well known, proved Hahnemann to be “a mere ignoramus both as a scholar and a physician.” “We cannot, therefore, understand how a true Magyar, even if he is sick in body, as long as he is mentally sound, can give himself up to such quackery.” “In what respect is a homœopathic doctor different from and better than a bird of darkness who seeks to gather honey from the cells of his honest colleagues.” The whole article seems to be made up of such phrases.

This article was received with great applause by the opponents of homœopathy. [Would even now be received with pleasure as we shall hereafter see.] They found in it the expression of their own hatred and ill-will towards this new and aggravating system. The uninstructed public looked on it as a powerful exposition of the worthlessness of homœopathy; and, in order to obtain the desired result more completely, Dr. Hanak resolved to print this article separately, and, with the addition of a few extracts from Simon’s book to offer it at a cheap price to the public. A homœopathic doctor ventured to say something against this abusive and ignorant treatise, and wished to print his remarks in the *Modezeitung*, in default of any other German journal. The article had to be submitted to the medical censorship. After many weeks it was returned to him with the following remark—“This article is not fitted for insertion in the *Modezeitung*, on account both of its form and its subject, and will not therefore be allowed to appear in the *Modezeitung*. Ofen. July 12, 1830, M. von Lenhoscek, Royal Counsellor and Protomedicus of the Kingdom—Mp.”

But all this seems mere child’s play, compared with what Dr. Kovats says. He wrote *Antiorganon ac Organorosta*, Pesth, 1830. In this work homœopathy is termed “a system of jugglery and of deception, quackery, a foolish, bungling

science, an occupation suitable for idle cobblers." Hahnemann was "a wretched vagabond, a wandering, ignorant barber, a blind Paracelsist, a liar, a worthless tempter, a fool, a false, coarse, low fox," and so forth. Hahnemann's adherents are all "madmen who ought to be locked up." Those who allow themselves to be treated homœopathically are also "fools." He terms a homœopathic doctor, Dr. Paul von Balogh, of Pesth (who must not be confounded with Balogh the County *physicus*), "a pander to Hahnemann, a deceiver, a shameless liar, an ungrateful fellow who takes upon himself to condemn the teaching of the medical faculty, a charlatan, an ignorant, foolish, low fellow, who can have learnt nothing or else he would have found it impossible to accept the teaching of homœopathy."

The homœopaths were unable to defend themselves on account of the censorship. In Hungary, Surgeon Rochel, Professor Schuster,* of Pesth, and Dr. Lippich treated homœopathy in the same strain. Repeatedly, and in various newspapers, the homœopaths attempted to publish rejoinders. Every time they were rejected, however, by the medical censor, with the declaration that Hahnemann's method of treatment is forbidden in the Austrian States.

It is no wonder [says the *Allgem. Anzeiger der Deutschen*] that in Hungary the most distorted, absurd and laughable ideas prevail on the subject of homœopathy, and that homœopathy makes but little progress with the public, generally so responsive to all that is good and true, for even learned men have an unconquerable aversion to it. Every day most of the allopathic doctors come to their patients with the good news that homœopathy is at last, thanks be to heaven, on the verge of expiring ; that his Majesty has just strictly forbidden homœopathy by a rescript ; that this was necessary since homœopathy did so much mischief, that its poisonous remedies either kill slowly, or cause miserably diseased life, that they destroy female beauty and make it instantly appear many years older, &c. [The same ideas founded on the same reasoning are to be met with even now.] The student of medicine in the colleges hears nothing but jeers and scoffs, or condemnation of homœopathy. Who is to set them right or awake in them a desire for reading homœopathic treatises ? Is it a wonder if among the numerous medical students at Pesth there are so few who have any wish to make themselves acquainted with the new system ? But notwith-

* Author of the anonymous *Hahnemanniana*, Berlin, 1830.

standing all this despotism the light of truth will yet conquer in Hungary.

In the year 1837 the prohibition of the practice of homœopathy was removed by an imperial mandate, and for ten years there has been a hospital and a professorship of homœopathy held by Professor v. Bakody, the son of the Bakody who was so much persecuted.

In 1843 the readers of Hungarian journals were again entertained with an attack on homœopathy, to which the homœopaths thus responded :—*

Our opponent has wished to persuade his readers that no stumbling block has been laid in the way of homœopathy by the old school, that we have been allowed to pursue our own way freely. Even now there is a capital in the Austrian monarchy in which a homœopathic book may not even be announced in a journal, nay, the bookseller may not even expose it in his window. There, as here, anything may be printed against homœopathy, but nothing in its favour.

This is the place to describe the medical standpoint of the medical advisers of the Austrian Emperor, in whom he so implicitly confided. It was above all others owing to Andreas Stiff, later his Excellency von Stiff, a vehement opponent of homœopathy that the practice of Hahnemann's mode of treatment was forbidden. Griesselich† relates the following amusing anecdote: "A Dr. Löbel appeared at Stiff's house to hand him a work which he had dedicated to him. The servant confused his name with that of a Dr. Löwe, a homœopath, who had come to Vienna from Prague. Dr. Löbel had to wait a long time. At last Stiff appeared and encountered this non-homœopath with the words, 'You are a homœopath—a fool; go! go! I will have nothing to do with fools!' Exeunt both through opposite doors."

His Excellency von Stiff was the Emperor's physician in ordinary. As everyone knows Francis II. was then reigning, who was called Francis I. after the extinction of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

His father was Leopold II., with the history of whose ill-

* *Allg. hom. Zeitung*, Vol. XXIV., p. 268.

† *Skizzen*, &c.

ness Hahnemann's opposition to the blood-letting four times repeated, is connected. Francis had lost his wives and his youthful grandson, who is known to the world's history (Duc de Reichstadt), under the "rational" system of bleeding. The Emperor was 67 years old, and was considerably bowed down by the weight of years,* when an inflammatory fever, at first declared harmless by his physicians (Stift and Günther), attacked him in 1835. Blood was drawn from him. The subsidence of the symptoms, which usually followed temporarily, was declared favourable; but as was also usually the case, the fever increased afterwards, and he was bled a second time. The symptoms became now more urgent, and both the doctors declared at mid-day, February 28th, that they could not save the patient. A wish was expressed for a further consultation, and three archiducal physicians in ordinary appeared at the sick bed. These approved of the treatment hitherto pursued, and declared that there was still some hope if a favourable crisis, a profuse perspiration, should take place. To bring this about they bled him twice more, after which the fever increased, the strength was proportionately diminished, the breathing became difficult, and within twenty-four hours the action of the heart stopped.

When the noble-minded patient dismissed, for the last time, the doctors who looked upon his blood as poison, he gave each of them his hand, thanked them for their exertions, and assured them of his love and favour, adding, generously, that he knew how much they loved him, and that they had done and would do all they could to save his life.

The report of the doctors upon the post-mortem examination was as follows:—

The patient died of inflammation of the lungs, the heart and the large blood vessels. The medical treatment was the only correct one, but the frequently repeated bleedings had not been sufficient to restrain within limits the increasing inflammation, and a more energetic treatment was precluded by the general condition of the patient, and would have incurred the danger of causing instantaneous death.

* Comp. Krüger-Hansen, *Brillenlose Reflexionen*, 1835, p. 21.

The tragic fate which the Austrian Imperial Family experienced, through their "rational" advisers, reminds us of the like fate which befel other intellectually distinguished men through rational treatment. How, for instance, did Goethe fare in this respect? He makes the following remarks on homœopathy:—*

Both [he is speaking of Count Paar and Antony Prokesch, adjutants of Prince Schwarzenberg] conversant with Hahnemann's system, on which this great prince had set his hopes, made me thoroughly acquainted with it, and it seemed to me that anyone who pays attention to his health and observes a suitable diet, unconsciously approximates to this method.

Hofrath Dr. Pitschaft quotes this opinion about homœopathy, and adds, "how truly and delicately he expresses himself in reference to the prince."

Goethe's opinion cannot be said to be more opposed to the homœopaths than that of Jean Paul was in their favour. He says: "Hahnemann, that rare combination of philosophy and learning, whose system must eventually bring about the ruin of the ordinary receipt-crammed heads, but is still little accepted by practitioners, and rather shunned than investigated."†

It almost seems to us as if Jean Paul had penetrated deeper into the matter than Goethe with his diplomatic utterance, and it would have been to the interest of the latter to make himself more intimately acquainted with Hahnemann. The account of his illness confirms this. Hufeland's remarks‡ (from 1783 to 1790, he enjoyed intercourse with Goethe, both as doctor and friend) are well known:—

I have never met with a man who was so largely gifted by heaven, both bodily and mentally; he was, indeed, a model of the most perfect man. It was not only the power that to such an extraordinary degree animated both his body and soul which extorted admiration, but still more the splendid balance of his qualities, both physical and intellectual, and the beautiful harmony of body and mind, so that neither lived at the cost of the other or disturbed its action.

* Vol. XXXII. of his Works, p. 184. Hufeland's *Journal*, Vol. LXXVII., st. 3, p. 4.

† *Zerstr. Blätter*, Vol. II., p. 392, Stapf, *I.c.* I., p. 1.

‡ Hufeland's *Journal*, 1833, St. 1, p. 31.

In December, 1830, Goethe was attacked by hæmorrhage from the lungs, in consequence—as his doctor, Vogel, thought—of grief at losing his son. He recovered from this, though, in his last years the weaknesses of old age, especially stiffness of the limbs, failure of memory for recent occurrences, occasional inability to understand clearly and quickly what was presented, and, besides these symptoms, deafness, became noticeable in him.

His former great activity of thought, as also the agility of his muscular movements, diminished perceptibly from year to year, while his usual difficulty in forming a decision increased.

The above-mentioned hæmorrhage filled “a large and deep washing basin half full,” and, at the same time, Vogel bled the old man to the amount of two pounds.

Goethe ate a great deal, and even when he complained of want of appetite he often ate much more than other younger healthy persons. He never owned to faults of diet, however often he may have been guilty of them. His want of self-restraint in eating, naturally enough often caused indigestion. This was remedied by daily pills of assafoetida, rhubarb and jalap and clysters. Occasionally, too, some spoonfuls of tincture of rhubarb and some Epsom salts were necessary. As his friend Schiller liked the exhalation from rotten apples, so Goethe liked the close air of a room. He could with the greatest difficulty be induced to open a window, that fresh air might be let into his bedroom and study.

Goethe had, owing to his great productive tendency, at all periods of his life made much blood. Formerly his blood-making was in favourable proportion to his blood-consumption. In the latter years of his life, however, owing to his complete abandonment of bodily exercise, while he continued to eat abundantly, he became very full-blooded, and this state urgently required copious artificial blood-letting by venesection from time to time.

We have already mentioned that his doctor allowed him to take aperients every day, and “he drank besides Kreuzbrunnen mineral water every day, taking every year over 400 bottles.”

Hufeland remarks in a postscript:—

Productivity, both mental and physical, was Goethe's main characteristic; and in the latter it was shown by rich nutrition, extremely rapid sanguinification and reproduction, curative crises in illness, and a fulness of blood. Therefore, in his old age, hæmorrhagic crises and the necessity for bleeding.

We will not take upon ourselves to pass judgment on the treatment of Goethe's last illness, in spite of the numerous medicines he was obliged to swallow. The report of his illness is of very great interest on account of the information as to Goethe's habits of life and views that it contains. But to say that the daily administered aperients, the unremitting use of such a strong mineral water, and the repeated "copious" bleedings (and we know what that meant in those blood-thirsty days,) must have injured the valuable life of this man, can hardly appear an exaggeration now-a-days.

A physician like Hahnemann, who did not live far from Weimar, and who was such an advocate for fresh air, would certainly, if consulted, have energetically insisted upon its necessity for Goethe. A doctor, by taking a firm stand and by persistent sensible persuasion, can conquer any prejudice.

That Raphael, Mirabeau, Lord Byron, Gessner, &c., were severely injured by bleeding, that Louis XIII. was bled forty-seven times in one year by his physician Bouverard, besides taking 215 purgatives and emetics and 312 clysters; that several members of the family of Louis XIV. were killed by bleeding, even according to the testimony of the allopaths of that day, and that Louis XV. did not fare much better in common with very many other remarkable men, all this we will not enter into here; but we are interested in Cavour's fate.*

After a stormy sitting of Parliament on 29th May, 1861, in Turin, Cavour was seized with slight febrile rigor, to which in the following night "violent pains in the bowels" and vomiting were added. Blood was drawn "which relieved the patient." On the following morning, the 30th May, he was bled a second time, and again in the evening of the same day, at five o'clock, a third time. That is three bleedings in twenty-four hours! Violent fever succeeded,

* Related at length at the end of *Count Cavour's Life and Labours*, by Giuseppe Massari, Jena, 1874.

the patient was "very weak and suffering." He passed a good night! Friday, the 31st, the fever disappeared, so that Cavour was able to hold a Council which assembled round his bedside for two hours. In the evening he became very feverish. Quinine did no good. On the 1st of June he was again bled twice—a quiet night followed. On the following day, June 2nd, he was pale and weak, his left hand and fore-arm cold as marble (the natural consequence of the enormous loss of blood). On attempting to leave his bed the wound in the vein re-opened, and the profuse bleeding could not be stopped till a surgeon was called in. Some hours later violent fever, shortness of breath, confusion of ideas. The night was very bad, and the next morning his excitement increased, his breathing became shorter, and severe thirst set in (results of the loss of blood). Cavour begged that a vein might be opened, this alone, he thought, could save him. The physician was quickly summoned, he consented, and a surgeon was sent for who made a new incision but no blood flowed; by pressing the vein he succeeded in drawing off two or three ounces of thick blood. The incisions of the veins made on the first day were not healed. The consulting physicians prescribed a solution of sulphate of quinine. Cavour begged it might be administered in the form of a pill, because he knew that the taste of the quinine would cause him to vomit. The doctors refused, they thought a solution better. He took the medicine with great repugnance, vomiting followed, and was renewed each time he attempted to take the drug, which he would only do at the persuasion of the friends who surrounded him. In the following night high fever and delirium. Ice compresses on the head and mustard plasters on the legs. The next night he was very bad again. Next morning cupping glasses were applied to the nape, and again blisters on the legs. But the blisters would not rise and the painful application of the cupping glasses was not felt by the patient. Victor Emmanuel, who visited his Minister just before his death, proposed to the doctors to open a vein in his neck. The doctors promised to take the proposal into consideration;

but death prevented them. Cavour died suffering from unquenchable thirst.*

Before we leave the subject of the contest about the coarse views of "science" and about blood-letting, we should add that the opponents who attacked the homœopaths in the most violent manner on account of their neglect of blood-letting, almost all expressly stated that anxiety for the public weal made them take the pen in hand, because every year thousands were sacrificed to the bloodless treatment, the "imposture" and "quackery" of homœopathy. When the homœopaths asserted that by their mode of treatment they obtained better results, that was "a lie," "the homœopaths did not themselves believe it." If patients affected with serious diseases recovered, their diseases were only "slight," and the homœopaths had made a false diagnosis, a trivial indisposition was exaggerated by the "impostors" into a severe malady, in order to throw dust in people's eyes. But if, for instance, a case of pneumonia died, in spite of homœopathic treatment, it was certain that "energetic treatment," blood-letting, &c., in short, "scientific" therapeutics would have saved the patient. Homœopathic literature abounds with authentic instances of the incredible persecution they were subjected to in consequence of their rejection of bleeding, emetics, &c.

I will give one other example of how the allopaths in their periodical literature took every opportunity of acrimoniously accusing their opponents of repudiating "scientific" treatment.

The following evidently highly-coloured versions of certain cases, taken from Walther's *Journal f. Chirurgie*, were given in Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*: †

* The case of the Princess Charlotte is a good pendant to the above. "The princess was very well—indeed, in the opinion of the physicians, she was 'too well.' For some time past they had kept down her 'abundance of humours' by repeated bleedings and the meagrest possible fare.....And so the unhappy princess, after a hard struggle of 52 hours, bore a dead boy, on the 5th November, 1817, and 5 hours afterwards was herself a corpse."—*Mem. of Karoline Bauer*, II., 260.—[ED.]

† Vol. VI., 1835, pp. 146 and 153.

A healthy, robust, blooming servant girl, about twenty years old, was seized with simple rheumatic bilious fever and placed herself under the care of a qualified physician, and after a few weeks died in great agony and delirious. The patient had throughout got no purgatives, neither had she been bled ; the physician had contented himself with the administration of some of the new-fangled remedies. At the post-mortem the viscera, especially the stomach, were found gangrenous in places ; the mesentery and intestines showed signs of intense inflammation ; the walls of the small intestine were thickened and studded with elevations which, on section, were seen to contain a quantity of corroded villous intestinal membrane and partially inclosed orange-coloured biliary matter which had caused ulceration. The large intestine was full of impacted faeces. A considerable quantity of blood had escaped into the pleural cavity and the lungs were intensely inflamed.

A case of apoplexy, which had passed from homœopathic into allopathic hands, is then described :—

In spite of a rational physician having been called in, and the best known remedies for sanguineous apoplexy having been administered the patient could not be saved, and died, in spite of everything possible being done (venesection, &c.), in three days, leaving a widow and numerous small children.

The author has seen similar cases in the time when Brown's plan of treatment was the rage ; where patients suffering from fever, to whom a sensible physician would have administered emetics and laxatives for the excess of bile, were treated by the benighted Brownian, who dreaded the supervention of asthenia, with cinchona and camphor, and perished miserably, suffering from terrible colic, distortion of the features, aberration of the mind, obviously from internal inflammation, cursing and abusing the physician, &c.

He must have been an intrepid fellow to leave this earthly scene cursing and abusing, and the Brownian was certainly wrong in thinking he had to do with asthenia.

Such outbreaks of partizan animosity were readily admitted into the most serious allopathic journals (Ph. von Walter, the editor, was, as is well-known, the preceptor of Schönlein and Johannes Müller), and Schmidt's *Jahrbücher* considered them suitable for a still wider circle of readers. If the allopaths expressed themselves with such virulence in scientific journals, we may imagine what animosity they displayed in their intercourse with the public.

Oberhofrath Kopp on Homœopathy.

Kopp wrote a work entitled: *Experiences gained and observations made during a trial of Homœopathy at the sick bed*, by Dr. J. H. Kopp, Oberhofrath, President of the Wetterau Society of Natural Science, &c., Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1832. Hufeland thus speaks of Kopp:—*

When a physician like Kopp, who is recognised by the whole medical public as one of their most estimable, thoughtful and experienced physicians, distinguished also by his powers of practical observation, expresses an opinion on this new and important subject, he deserves our full attention. It has long been our wish that such a man should devote his attention to an impartial examination of homœopathy. But a rare combination of qualities is required for such a purpose. The greatest love of truth and impartiality, no prejudice against the matter in hand, but rather the hope and the wish to find in it something good and helpful to medicine, readiness to accept all that is good and useful, even if presented in the strangest form, and, as in the case of homœopathy, in the most repulsive manner, a complete knowledge of, and long experience in medicine as it has been practised up till now, and likewise a complete study and a long and extensive experience in homœopathy; and, finally, what is required to crown the whole, a calm, benevolent mind, and a spirit ennobled and raised above the vulgar herd by true and wide culture. Happily, these qualities are all united in Kopp.

Hufeland quotes some sentences from him which accord with his own ideas, and speaks particularly of his views on the subject of bleeding without criticising them. Kopp held similar views respecting homœopathy to those of Hufeland.

Hufeland was never violently attacked by the allopaths on this account. He was the head, so to speak, of the family of physicians, and was respected and honoured by the allopaths to an extent to which the history of medicine in Germany offers no parallel. Among foreigners only Boerhaave can be compared with him in this respect. If Hufeland was attacked he always replied in a mild but firm and dignified tone, confining his remarks to the matter in hand. We will only recall the case of Röschlaub, Professor

* Hufeland's *Journal*, 1833, st. II, p. 73.

of Medicine at Landshut, and his excitement theory. Hufeland opposed him; Röschlaub became violent; Hufeland never lost his calm though decided tone. So the contest lasted between these two men, through a whole decade, to the year 1806. Five years later Röschlaub, who was an energetic, self-reliant man, publicly owned his faults towards Hufeland,* and publicly apologized to him; a rare occurrence that does honour to both men, as a writer justly remarks. A proof of how thoroughly Hufeland deserved this respect is furnished by his article in the 2nd part of the 32nd volume of his *Journal*, "An account rendered to the public of my attitude towards Brownism." In spite of all the personal attacks on him on the part of Brown's adherents, he had never defended himself personally, although by reason of this forbearance he was frequently misunderstood and misrepresented, of which even Sprengel gives an example in his *History of Medicine*. Hufeland had kept silence in order not to embitter the strife unnecessarily. "I was only concerned on behalf of the truth." With regard to his zeal for medical science, he says, "Not only with my understanding, but with my whole being have I embraced this science; it has become my life."

Kopp was also highly respected, but he was not Hufeland; the allopaths, Simon and Sachs, attacked him some time after the homœopaths had entered the lists against him. Kopp was thus exposed to a cross fire, and was on thoroughly bad terms with both parties. In spite, however, of the violence of the attacks no one omitted to express his respect for Kopp's learning, his practical skill, and honest, zealous endeavours after truth—with the exception, indeed, of Simon, who, when Sachs called him "estimable" added a point of interrogation. Nothing was sacred to Simon; no, weapon was too bad for him to use against homœopathy and against his enemies—Krüger-Hansen for example. Kopp says:—

Even though I willingly accept the results of experience in the new doctrine that commend themselves to me, yet I condemn the system.

* Hufeland's *Journal*, 1811, Vol. XXXII., st. 1, p. 3.

Judging from its present course, homœopathy, in the hands of homœopathists themselves will, after a few years, take an entirely different shape.—(Preface).

The treatment of diseases according to "general indications," as it is called, has done harm. The practitioner, who is acquainted with the specific powers of medicines and understands how to employ them in disease, practises medicine most successfully (p. 5).

Undoubtedly burnt sponge has an elective affinity for the throat, phosphoric acid acts specially on the sexual organs, sabina and ergot on the uterus, copaiba on the urethra, squills and cantharides on the urinary passages, boletus laricis on the capillaries of the skin, iodine on the glands, hepar sulphuris on the trachea. Each drug acts specifically on one or more organs; that is, it acts more powerfully and strikingly, specially or exclusively on one or more organs (p. 6).

If we regard homœopathy from this point of view—that its work is to investigate the specific qualities of medicines—it must be attractive to every physician. It is not the theory advanced by Hahnemann—his so-called system—but the experiences and experimental investigations on which it is founded which form the essential part of homœopathy (p. 8).

In the form in which Hahnemann enunciated homœopathy, it will hardly be followed by any, even ultra-homœopathic practitioners (p. 9).

Homœopathy could hardly find a more general acceptance in its present form among medical men—especially not in France and England; the older practitioners rarely occupy themselves with it because it is so far removed from the common practice, because its study is difficult and wearisome, and because they have been disappointed with many former systems.

As a rule, however, all medical men who have not engaged in the practice of homœopathy are opposed to it, and its bitterest enemies are those who do not sufficiently know it.

Everyone who wishes to judge homœopathy should test it at the sick bed.....Hahnemann's system may pass away, but his experiences, if they are proved to be new and true, will remain for ever (p. 11).

The study of the specific remedies of homœopathy may be of advantage even to allopaths: observation of the effects of remedies on healthy persons; a closer and more thorough acquaintance with medicinal substances, and especially their specific properties; the avoidance of haphazard mixtures and compounds; attention directed to diseases produced by medicines and their prevention; simplicity of prescriptions—the stamp of all good medical treatment; care in the choice of remedies; knowledge of their sphere of action (p. 14).

One good feature of Hahnemann's system is undoubtedly the proving of remedies on healthy persons in order to ascertain their specific powers. This plan of ascertaining the powers of medicines has great advantages, and Hahnemann has the inalienable merit of having discovered and enlarged it (p. 35).

We cannot fail to recognise the extent of Hahnemann's talent if we consider how exhaustive were his investigations of specific remedies, and with what difficulties he had to struggle in pursuing this path. His observations of the effects of medicines on the disposition, the temperature of the body, the sleep, with regard to thirst, &c., in respect to the time of day or night, movement or rest, contact, the time before or after eating, when in the open air or in the room, as to the duration of the action of medicines, &c., bear witness to the fertility of his genius and to his power of discovering new and true points of view in the realm of nature.

The proving of medicines on healthy persons alone does not suffice to show the full range of their action ; experience at the sick bed is also a necessary factor for this purpose.

Hahnemann's *materia medica* in its present primitive condition must be purged of false and doubtful statements.

Kopp then attacks in detail some paragraphs in Hahnemann's *Organon*, which were even then only accepted as true by few individuals and are now regarded as true by none ; blames Hahnemann because he presumes to usurp a dictatorship in medicine, and shows that cures are not always effected homœopathically, as Hahnemann says they are. Then examples are given of homœopathic cures and failures. In these cases it can be proved by the unsuccessful issue that he frequently made a false selection of remedies. The treatment is sometimes complicated by the employment of blisters, an inconsistency which is much to be blamed. Such accounts are only confusing. These half-and-half treatments could only displease both sides.

A physician who denies the efficacy of minute doses may be asked whether he has ever thoroughly gauged the sensitiveness of the human organism in both its extremes.

It is true that homœopathic doses do often effect rapid and wonderful cures and without any attendant sufferings ; but they frequently also have no effect at all [certainly, if the wrong medicine is chosen].

If I were member of a jury that was to give a verdict on the effect of the homœopathic dilutions, I could honestly say nothing else but this : They are generally efficacious, but there are cases where no effect is observed from their administration (p. 114).

Kopp was not prepared to give up bleeding. He draws attention to the fact that in adult females of all races blood is lost periodically. "This is the weak side of homœopathy—it neglects general and local bleeding by venesection and

the application of leeches, and thereby endangers the maintenance of the integrity of the organs and imperils health and even life itself."

"A genuine allopathy and a moderate homœopathy more nearly approach one another than is commonly supposed; on either hand lie the dangerous extremes." If the homœopaths had accepted Kopp's views, bleeding would be still in full swing.

Hahnemann's observations respecting specific drugs are one thing, and the theory propounded by him is another. We should be wrong to form our opinion of homœopathy only on the latter. While there is much that deserves attention and is valuable and interesting to the physician in the former, one main cause of the number of virulent opponents of homœopathy is that medical men were repelled from giving it a fair trial by the defects of the Hahnemannic theory, as also by its novelty and by its being directly contrary to the ordinary practice (p. 465).

Any unprejudiced person following critically Hahnemann's practical career, from his first appearance as an author, as a teacher, as founder and master of a special school, will not be able to deny his unflagging spirit of research, his speculative originality, and the mighty intellectual power of the man. He strove to carry out courageously his bold plans with great talent, knowledge of mankind and sagacity, the accumulated learning of years, and a rare persistency. We see in him everywhere the experimental observer who was in his earlier days an earnest and diligent worker in the field of chemistry. His services in more accurately ascertaining the specific properties of drugs and the great sensitiveness of the human organism, are undeniable (p. 471).

Simon (*Pseudomesias*, third part) speaks of Kopp as a sensible practitioner and critic—"an excellent practitioner"....."of ripe age and experience"..... &c., &c.

Sachs* says of him: "Kopp is one of the best informed and most justly respected German physicians, a man who has brought to the most difficult of the arts a fine and independent intellect,"....."he enjoys a very honourable place among German physicians." Sachs angrily exclaims, p. 271, "Herr Kopp, an estimable physician, a writer of varied learning, a man of ripe experience and, as it has always seemed, without any temptation to indulge in eccentricities, far from prone to theorise, of a reflective mind

* *Die Homœopathie und Herr Kopp*, Leipzig, 1834, p. 39.

and practical skill, not to be seduced into metaphysical speculations, but confining himself to experimental science, has undertaken an examination of homœopathy!"—inconceivable! For everything ever written by Hahnemann is, whatever Kopp may say, according to the decided opinion of these two allopaths, utter nonsense. Simon declared Hahnemann to be a "crass ignoramus," "his inability to seize an idea and pursue it, is clearly evident from everything he has written," (p. 5), and Sachs, for the second time, likens him to the devil in whom there is as much truth as in Hahnemann. But Kopp was unreservedly blamed for administering homœopathic drugs at the sick bed—such palpable nonsense did not deserve trial.

Allopathic opinions on the proving of drugs on the healthy organism.

The opinions of Bischoff, Puchelt, Hufeland, Gmelin, Riecke, Eschenmayer and Kopp on this subject have already been mentioned.

Professor Heinroth expressed the following opinion (*l.c.* p. 103):—

Who has made us acquainted with all this, with the whole apparatus of the *materia medica*, based on so many thousand observations? The writer has often asked this question, and can only find this answer—necessity, instinct and chance.

And in a note (p. 104) he says:—

In this respect chance and fate are one. What happens to us is nothing else but what is sent to us. *Sapienti sat!*

PAGE 105:—Therefore it appears to us that most probably necessity, instinct and chance are the discoverers of the *materia medica*, which is transmitted by tradition and has grown gradually.

PAGE 107:—It really appears ridiculous that Hahnemann should say that he has ascertained the effects of medicines on healthy persons.

PAGE 110:—The idea of testing medicines on healthy persons is repugnant to reason and repellent to common sense. The art of such almost criminal experimenting had to be invented before one could even think of such a thing. A healthily constituted person

can at the most make one trial out of curiosity as to how a medicine tastes, but he will never try how it acts, for he is not ill ; and who would wish to make himself ill by means of medicine ?

Heinroth still further developed his views.

PAGE 112 :—Once more—only sick persons and not healthy ones have made us acquainted with the curative properties of medicines ; and it is just as impossible to discover these properties when in health as it is only possible to gain this experience in a diseased condition. Diseases and their remedies are correlatives in the same way as health and food. Just as senseless as it would be to seek to discover the effects of food on patients, is it to try to ascertain the effects of medicines on healthy persons. Medicines show their power only in the diseased condition, as food does only in the healthy condition.

And what does Hufeland's *Journal* say about Heinroth : “ who can vie with him in intelligence ? ” Schmidt's *Jahrbücher* calls this work “ the classic work of Heinroth.” F. Groos wrote :* “ Heinroth, this celebrated Leipzig scholar ! ” “ I remember having read in Heinroth's notes to his translation of Georget's works that he declares that he has completely refuted Hahnemann's teachings.” But we have interrupted Heinroth.

PAGE 134 :—“ Human beings become mere experimenting machines, pharmacometers to please the *materia medica*.” So it goes on through several pages, and it is proved that the proving of remedies is a “ crime ” (p. 137). “ Every power in nature is to be learnt by the effect it produces, and are we to learn the curative power before it produces an effect ? We again exclaim with Hahnemann—Folly ! ”

That Heinroth did not stand alone in the views he held is clear from the criticism in Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*. His book was looked upon as one of the best and by many as containing the most thorough and convincing refutation of “ the heretic Hahnemann,” as Ferd. Jahn called him ! † Hahnemann was extinguished by Heinroth “ by the irresistible force of logic.”

* *Ueber das hom. Heilprincip*, *l.c.*, p. 4.

† *Ahnungen einer allgem. Naturgeschichte der Krankheiten*, Eisenach, 1828, p. 116.

Mückisch, *I.c.* 1826, p. 123, refers to the judgment of Heinroth on "these senseless proving-experiments of Hahnemann's on healthy persons," and arrives finally at the conclusion that such provings on the healthy "are contrary at once to nature and to reason."

Professor Sachs, Simon, Lesser, the anonymous author of the *Wonders of Homœopathy* and others wrote in the same strain, but on the other hand it is not to be denied that many of Hahnemann's opponents recognised his services in having sought to found a physiological *materia medica*, and of having given the first impulse towards it.

Allopathic views on the duration of Homœopathy and proposals for its destruction.

As homœopathy was "nonsense" it could not possibly have a long existence, especially in view of the tremendous obstacles which were placed in its way. If the allopaths had been right in their judgment, it must necessarily follow that the speedy downfall of homœopathy was to be anticipated. But if progress were made in the spread of homœopathy this is a proof that the judgment of its opponents was mistaken.

Professor Kieser prophesied in the year 1825 :—*

From what has been already stated it necessarily follows that both Hahnemann's and Broussais' theories can only have an ephemeral existence, and can receive recognition from the public only so long as the present inflammatory epidemic character of diseases prevails, and that both will lose their hold on the public as soon as a different epidemic character of disease appears.

In 1825† the Obermedicinalrath and physician-in-ordinary Stieglitz, laments: "the monstrous system of Hahnemann, which has spread especially in and around Prague and Leipzig, is very deplorable."

* Hufeland's *Journ.*, Vol. LX., St. 2, p. 36.

† Hufeland's *Journ.*, Vol. LX., St. 1, p. 99.

Professor Heinroth writes in the same year,* "Homœopathy will receive its death blow from this axiom [the effect of medicines and the reaction of the organism],we have now accompanied it to its death bed." The hospital director Mückisch wrote in 1826,† "Both systems, the homœopathic and the animal magnetic are mere fashions, and will, therefore, soon be forgotten."

In 1825 an allopath writes in the *Allgemein. Anzeig. der Deutschen* (p. 675):—"The author has seen in his forty years' practice many systems of medicine and methods of treatment pass like thunder clouds, and so, too, this homœopathic delusion will come to an end without its being necessary to abuse it." The opponents seem soon to have abandoned this last opinion.

Professor Sachs wrote in 1826 *A last word on Hahnemann's System*. Kraus, whom Professor Most‡ calls his respected teacher, says in the same year :§ "Hahnemann has bestowed an unsuitable name on a false doctrine, which will perish before the knowledge of the word in its new meaning, for this will be ridiculed centuries hence by men who will compassionate the weaknesses of our age." "Hahnemann's erroneous doctrine will have perished in a few years." Nietsch|| prophesies: "It is just as easy to foresee that the new theory will go out of fashion as soon as any other novelty occupies the general attention." "Hence most doctors are convinced that this dazzling monstrosity, without any counter-measures will, perhaps, soon reach the term of all perishable things." "Truth will gain the victory over the follies of the day." "I think I may prophesy that very soon nobody will any longer believe in homœopathy." "Let us avoid all personalities in attacks on a system which will soon cease to exist! Had others who have formerly attacked Herr Hahnemann gone to work with the same humanity as Herr Hufeland, it would, perhaps, never have

* *L.c.*, p. 189, note.

† *L.c.*, p. 169.

‡ *Encyclopädie der Medicin*, Vol. I., p. 1042, Leipzig, 1836.

§ *Krit. etymolog. med. Lexicon*, Göttingen, 1826, 2nd edit., p. 403.

|| *Bemerkungen über Homöopathie*, Hanau, 1826, pp. 10, 31, 44, 73.

been introduced into practical life and non-professionals would have had one reason the less for abandoning their good opinion of doctors and their art." "The already tottering condition of homœopathy."

In 1827 Elias* rejoices over "the decreasing adhesion" of the public to homœopathy, and says that "this is the most striking proof that homœopathy is a useless thing."

In 1828, Bernstein† compares Hahnemann with Broussais and Rasori, complains of the great spread of homœopathy in Warsaw, and promises its speedy downfall. In 1828, Dr. Wetzler wrote a book, entitled *Hahnemann's homœopathy at its last gasp*. Augsburg. Fischer of Dresden (l.c. 1829), as we showed at p. 198, prophesied the downfall of homœopathy in Leipzig, and also mentioned the reason why it cannot exist in Berlin, France, and England. At p. 53, he says: "But my own understanding gives me security that the State itself cannot long suffer such foolish and unreasonable quackery." Obermedicinalrath Wildburg wrote, in 1830, *Some Instructive Words on the Homœopathic Healing Art* (Leipzig, 1830, preface), and thus administered comfort to the allopaths:—

Remember how eagerly gymnastics were received in their time, and with what zeal they were long pursued; but how soon it was recognised that this mode of promoting exercise among youth was in many respects injurious! What a rage existed at one time for using magnetism in diseases; but how soon it was dropped. It was just so with the prophylactic against scarlet fever,‡ with the belief in miraculous cures and cures by starvation. And is not the same to be expected with regard to those Russian baths which have been received with so much enthusiasm? Calmly and quietly, therefore, may the allopaths await the fate of homœopathy.

Hufeland says in 1831,§ "The experiment is not yet completed." "Time will show."

Kleinert's *Repertorium* contained, in 1831, this encourag-

* *Gurkenmonat*, p. 45.

† Hufeland's *Journ.*, Vol. LXVII., St. 2, p. 85.

‡ In 1835, Professor Fleischmann, of Erlangen, among others, reported favourable results from Hahnemann's remedy for scarlatina. He had employed it since 1807 (Huf. *Journ.* LXXX., St. 6, p. 21).

§ *Die Homœopathie*, Berlin, pp. 5 and 12.

ing news: "In Brunswick, homœopathy seems to be near its end."* The anonymous writer of *Wonders of Homœopathy* (p. 4) prophesied in 1833:—

Homœopathy will live, and, purged from its dross, will prove to be a valuable method of healing.

PAGE 20:—I can foresee that when the inflammatory constitution of diseases again prevails, the misuse of homœopathy will as surely come to an end, as was the case with Brown's system (p. 26.)

Hahnemann bears considerable resemblance to the old heroes of medicine. Æsculapius had no fixed abode, but wandered through the land, accompanied by a goat, healing the sick who came to him; and Hippocrates, who often changed his abode, rode on a mule through Greece and the neighbouring countries (p. 27).

The fame of Hippocrates was not so great during his lifetime, as we see from his complaints in his letters to Democritus; his fame arose after his death from his writings, but in the case of our Hahnemann it can easily be anticipated that his fame will be still less after his death than during his life.

Sachs, *Homœopathy and Herr Kopp* (1834, p. 2), says:— "What have I to do with homœopathy which is non-existent—is nothing." "Kopp predicts that it will be imperishable" (p. 272). "Homœopathy has never appeared, and does not exist" (p. 272.) Damerow saw in 1834 "that homœopathy was already attacked by decay."† Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*‡ in 1834: "Whether homœopathy will defy time and its opponents is very doubtful." Simon, in 1834 expressed the same hopes.§

Homœopathy has already outlived its most brilliant period in Austria, where it first gained some attention by its novelty; the enthusiasm of the non-professional public for it there, as well as in Saxony, Thuringia and other places, has sensibly cooled and is steadily diminishing. Homœopathy resembles cholera, which, while breaking out in new regions, is almost forgotten in those places where it formerly prevailed.

All the allopathic medical men at that time prophesied

* Suppl. to Vols. IV. and V., p. 435.

† *Med. Ztg. d. Ver. f. Heilk. in Preussen*, 1834, No. 36. Kleinert, *Repertorium*, &c.

‡ Vol. III., p. 269.

§ *Antihom. Archiv*, Vol. I., H. 1, p. 20.

the speedy downfall of homœopathy, so that a homœopathic physician was able to write in 1834 :—*

The grave of homœopathy has been dug for more than thirty [more correctly twenty] years by more than 30,000 allopathic doctors ; they are all standing round the freshly dug grave, and are waiting for the cortege which shall commit the long looked-for corpse to their eager hands, that they may bury it as soon as possible and show it the last honours. Professor Sachs already prepared the funeral sermon in his *Schlusswort* some years ago, but see ! the grave still stands open, and the corpse does not arrive.

The mourners, however, did not lose patience. Lesser† soothed them thus : “ Now the good man can dismiss his cares, for homœopathy has come to the end of its life in Berlin.” Augustin,‡ in 1835, called homœopathy, “ This fashionable method of cure.” Stieglitz§ advised them not to return home yet, for the corpse would soon arrive :—

The educated classes who chiefly favour homœopathy [others assert with equal assurance that homœopaths bid chiefly for the support of the uneducated public] will not allow themselves to be permanently deluded by such an imposture. Many who are now inclined to homœopathy will soon recall to their minds what ordinary medicine has done for themselves or their circle of acquaintances.

Stieglitz did not probably then suspect that a homœopath, Dr. Weber, would, by and bye, succeed him in his position as physician in ordinary to the King of Hanover, and that the king would express himself most gratefully respecting his homœopathic treatment as compared with the allopathic. The homœopathic physician in ordinary received an autograph letter in which the king expresses his especial satisfaction with the results obtained by homœopathic treatment, which had a very depressing effect on the allopaths.||

But of what use was it to talk ? The allopaths were tired of waiting in the churchyard. Many of them began to suffer from cold feet, and went home with colds ; they continued to bleed their patients and to write their long

* *Die Allöopathie*, No. 6.

† *L.c.*, p. 42, note.

‡ *L.c.*, p. 186.

§ *Die Homöopathie*, 1865, p. 9.

|| *Allg. hom. Ztg.*, Vol. LVI., p. 161, and Vol. LVIII., p. 20.

prescriptions. Some, indeed, ascended a height, and called out that they saw the corpse coming—certainly it is coming now!—but they met with little attention. When the Vienna school had found the key to the success of the homœopaths and thought to place themselves on a level with them by means of nihilism, hope of a joyful funeral feast again rose, and they began again to catch sight of the corpse. “We hope still to see the whole illusive fabric confounded and evaporate in a bad smell;” such was, in 1853, the wish of a hot-headed allopath,* and Professor Aug. Förster† thus comforted his fellow-believers in 1857: “Outside of Germany this system has made but very little way, and now there are hardly any traces of it to be found.” This was very consoling, but the complaints from France, England, Spain, Italy, America, and other quarters of the globe of the desperate tenacity of life shown by this tiresome system were too loud for the words of the professor to give the longed-for feeling of security. Soon the last allopath had disappeared from the side of the grave. On the return journey they shook their wise heads and groaned forth: “*mundus vult decipi*”—“the want of judgment of the crowd”—“the world given over to folly”—and so forth.

In 1834 Schmidt’s *Jahrbücher* contained a quotation (vol. III., p. 269) from another paper on the spread of homœopathy:—

While an anonymous writer who has just increased the number of works on homœopathy by a new one, describes homœopathy as a frightful abortion with a big body, goat’s hoofs, crooked arms and long fingers, fox’s eyes, donkey’s ears, and a hydrocephalic head, others find the system uncommonly attractive. The number of its adherents is increasing, and it has become quite the fashionable beauty—it is spoken of by everyone. Whether, however, it will be able to defy

* *Charlatanerie der Hom.*, Weimar, 1853, p. 40.

† *Grundriss der Encycl. d. Medicin.* Jena, 1857, p. 125.—Fielitz, *Die medic. Weltweisen*, Sondershausen, 1857, p. 26.

time and its opponents, and, like Ninon de l'Enclos, be able to retain its old admirers and attract new ones in its old age, is very doubtful, but its spread is immense notwithstanding. Not much less than half of the medical works that appear in Germany at the present time relate to the subject of homœopathy. Its literature is already so extensive that even homœopaths begin to complain that they have no time to read all and study what is good. Seven periodicals are devoted to homœopathy—the first number has just appeared of an eighth, which merely contains extracts from the others; another one will shortly see the light in Karlsruhe; a tenth in Paris, an eleventh in North America. The first dozen is therefore nearly complete. In Germany, its native country, homœopathy has spread rapidly. In Baden a few years ago there was one single homœopathic doctor; since that time more than 40 doctors have studied and are practising homœopathy. In Wirtemberg, about ten years ago, only one doctor practised the new method. Now it appears to be gaining ground here, and in Stuttgart there is a young homœopathic missionary. In Bavaria there are only a few homœopathic doctors; in Würzburg no single apostle of the new faith has yet appeared. In Munich lectures have been given for two years on homœopathy; and a homœopathic hospital is to be erected. In Austria the number of homœopathic doctors is increasing. In Saxony and in Thuringia it counts a great many adherents, and its founder is still, in his old age, labouring with youthful zeal. In Leipzig a homœopathic dispensary was opened last year. In Sax-Meiningen the government last year issued an order to the apothecaries to provide themselves with homœopathic remedies. In the two Hesses it has met with a cordial reception. In Prussia, too, homœopathy is making its way; in Hamburg some doctors have recently carried its banner, and for eleven years it has taken up its abode in the capital of Brunswick. Several societies are labouring, etc.

Further on the progress of the new doctrine in foreign lands is considered, in France, Switzerland, and Italy. In Italy it is dead (1834), according to this author: "It made only an ephemeral appearance there:—"

In the Iberian Peninsula there appears to be not yet any notion of homœopathy; and it has failed in gaining any approval from the proud English. In Russia it was long kept down by the late Rehmann, who was at the head of the medical faculty there, and an opponent of homœopathy. Now, however, it is left more free, and an Imperial rescript appeared in October of last year which allowed qualified doctors to practise homœopathy, ordered the establishment of homœopathic pharmacies in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and even allowed doctors to dispense their own medicines themselves under certain conditions. On the other side of the ocean, too, the new

system has found its admirers. The medical faculty of New York has elected Hahnemann an honorary member ; in Philadelphia a society has been formed named after him, and lately a North American homœopathic journal was announced.

From these short notices we can see that homœopathy has spread considerably in the last few years, and it may not be an exaggeration when the number of homœopathic doctors is given by its adherents as 500. But notwithstanding this the attentive observer cannot but notice that homœopathy, spreading as quickly as it has done, is now encountering a crisis in which the question of its very existence is involved. Either it will issue from this crisis victorious and purified, or it will tumble down and be buried under its own ruins, and this, according to all appearance, is what will most probably happen.*

Whichever way the matter may be decided, something useful may be gained for medicine, and even if homœopathy should be destroyed and be recognised as but a barren fruit-tree, yet a greater attention to diet, a restraint on the abuse of drugs, greater simplicity of treatment, more attentive observation of the specific effects of medicines, and a more severe criticism with regard to medical experience, will be the happy final result of the bitter contest.

* That was the account given by an old-school writer of the state of homœopathy in 1834. Things have altered somewhat since then. Germany, including Austria-Hungary and Switzerland, has upwards of 400 practitioners, four or five hospitals, and four journals. In Great Britain there are upwards of 250 avowed, and a large but unknown number of unavowed practitioners, three hospitals, and two monthly periodicals. In France there are more than 150 practitioners, two hospitals, and three monthly periodicals. In Russia there are about 100 practitioners and one or two periodicals. In Belgium there are twenty-seven practitioners and one monthly periodical. Italy has only forty-one practitioners and one monthly periodical. Spain has a large number of practitioners, two hospitals, and three or four monthly periodicals. In the United States of North America there are between 7 and 8,000 practitioners, fifty-four hospitals, several State-supported lunatic asylums, upwards of 100 societies (some of them numbering many hundreds of members), twenty periodicals, besides nine annual transactions of societies, and five annual reports of hospitals. The neighbouring British province of Canada has a considerable number of practitioners. Mexico has a good many, and a monthly periodical. In South America most of the States are well provided with practitioners, and several of them, as La Plata, Monte Video, Colombia, have homœopathic periodicals. Australia, New Zealand, Hindostan and China, are all provided with homœopathic practitioners, indeed there is scarcely a corner of the world where the disciples of Hahnemann have not penetrated.—[ED.]

Another allopath is staggered by an incomprehensible fact (1835):—*

It is certainly remarkable that a system resting on such an insecure foundation should be so well received in spite of all opposition—that it should even find reception and defenders among the educated classes. No other system has made such an epoch, such rapid progress! When did non-professionals ever evince so much interest in a medical system? After hardly thirty years, homœopathy has travelled through all civilised countries both of the old and new world.

Cry for State help.

How could the allopaths protect themselves against the spread of homœopathy? They had not spared their abuse and calumnies, but no satisfactory result followed. The State must help. Fischer (Dresden), in 1829, had clamoured loudly for State help. Three years previously we learn from Hufeland's *Journal*, that the action of the government against the homœopaths was required. In Austria, in 1819, the celebrated guardian of the health of the Emperor Francis I., his Excellency v. Stifft, obtained an imperial edict against the practice of homœopathy. In 1831, Professor Dr. C. H. Schultz completed his *Homœobiotik*, and dedicated it to the minister von Stein zum Altenstein, and on p. 13 he advised the government "to forbid entirely the practice of homœopathy." In 1834, Dr. Burmann, the Court physician and physicus in Hanover, wrote:† "Homœopathy—the unscientific audacity of which defies every canon of reason—should not be suffered by any State."

Professor Sachs:‡ "Hahnemann has called us 'prejudiced people, who go about unpunished, and do the greatest injury to the State by robbing it of its citizens.' Supposing Hahnemann were right? Supposing homœopathy were not destitute of wholesome truth? It would not be absolutely

* Simon's *Antihom. Archiv*, I., 3, p. 36.

† Henke's *Zeitschrift f. d. Staatsärzneikunde*, 1834, VII. Kleinert, *Repertorium der ges. med. Journalistik*.

‡ Die *Hom. und Herr Kopf*, Leipzig, 1834, p. 6—36.

impossible. If a military professor were to teach that fortresses should be attacked with sugar-plums or soap-bubbles ; if a teacher of mathematics were to assert that two and two make five, and that a part is greater than the whole ; what would the State do ? It would, certainly, send him about his business. Hahnemann makes similar assertions ; no good can, therefore, come from him ; what should the State do ? Doctors take an oath to the State to act, according to the laws of science, 'on a scientific basis.' The homœopaths contemn science ; they have broken their contract with the State, and, therefore, have no *rights* as regards the State." Thus writes with incisive logic this "talented author."

Dr. Fischer, of Erfurt,* holds the following opinions :— One bright side of homœopathy is the excellence of its narcotic tinctures, as compared with allopathic extracts ; another good point is its discovery of specific remedies and their use in diseases ; an indirect advantage is the great simplification of medical treatment. But the State ought to forbid homœopathy in cases of syphilis, ophthalmia, and intermittent fevers. Dispensing their medicines ought to be forbidden to doctors. In the *Württembergischer Landbote*,† a physician says, "that it is the duty of the authorities to forbid any one to practise who gives himself out as a homœopath."

In Bavaria the allopaths at last obtained so much, that‡ (the medical committees through the country having been consulted) the use of homœopathy in medico-judicial cases was forbidden. As a sign that there were exceptions among the allopaths, we notice that one doctor wrote against this proceeding, and he was, according to his own statement, far from being a friend of homœopathy. He says :—

* *Med. Zeit. des Ver. f. Heilk. in Preussen*, No. 55, 1833. Kleinert, *Repertorium*, &c.

† 1834, No. 125.—*Die Allöopathie*, 1834, No. 17.

‡ By ministerial ordinance of the 23rd Dec., 1835, according to others, of 4th January, 1836.

This order is an attack on the personal rights of the patient and on the most sacred rights of science. Science is a republic, and every scientist is a representative citizen thereof. Here there is no dictatorship, least of all in medicine and the natural sciences. Distant as we still are from the truth and from the limit of scientific knowledge, we see in the rise of new systems and theories a striving of the human spirit of investigation after truth and the light of knowledge. Opponents of homœopathy who rejoice at these measures should remember that they are acquiescing in the infringement of a right which all medical men should defend with every intellectual weapon at their command. Such a proceeding is a triumph for homœopathy a defeat of their opponents, because it is evident, from the fact of their invoking physical force, that they are unable to fight and defeat it with reason.*

In the same way Dr. Stachelroth, district physician of Ottweiler,† although no adherent of homœopathy, looks upon it as hardly possible that the homœopathic system, "which is valued and practised by so many excellent men," rests entirely on a delusion, and he defends the trustworthiness of the homœopathic method.

Such views however, are but rarely met with. The majority were in favour of State help, and the State exerted itself with sufficient energy.

The allopathic opinions were very frankly expressed in a pamphlet: *The Road to the Grave of Homœopathy*:‡ The author has preferred to barricade himself behind "anonymity," and thence to dedicate his work "to the public and to governments." Part I. the author begins:—

Homœopathy had hardly come to life, it did not breathe, its organ was still powerless to announce its existence by a cry—the dumb and naked creature was shunned and hated by all as an abortion. When the doctors were called upon by the father to view and to judge of his little daughter they found that its organs from the larynx to the lungs were well formed, but it was in truth a monster; a big trunk, feet like a goat, crooked arms and long fingers, eyes like a fox, ears like a donkey, and much water in the head.

It was abandoned, and not visited. Weeks grew to months, months to years, years to decades, and see! homœopathy appears as a maiden of thirty years—that despised and neglected abortion is now

* *Annalen der Staatsärzneikunde*, 1836, 19.—Kleinert, *Reperf.*

† Henke's *Zeitsch. f. Staatsärzneikunde*, 1835, 10.—Kleinert, *l.c.*

‡ Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1834.

surrounded and flattered by stalwart young men, she shows herself to the world and displays her true flesh and blood even to those who, not taken by her charms, looked upon her as nothing but carrion. This vermin will not disappear so long as it finds nourishment.

PAGE 26:—Prince! Minister! learn with astonishment what that homœopathy which you have suffered and which flourishes in your land really is.....Is it not a disgrace to any public paper even to mention homœopathy?

PAGE 29: How ought government to treat, not homœopathy, but homœopathic doctors? It would be disgraceful to the State if only the theologian and the jurist should enjoy a fixed salary, protection, respect, while the physician, who must expend more rather than less time, money and mental labour to arrive at his position, should be treated like a pedlar and neglected.

So it goes on to p. 32, where the grave is dug:—

(1) Let the public be taught what its opinion of homœopathy ought to be ; (2) let the truth be told respecting the assertions of homœopaths about the pretended progress of homœopathy in foreign countries, which are mere lies and false statements. Let the loudly-trumpeted homœopathic miraculous cures be exposed when that can be done ; let the concealed hirelings be unmasked ; for it is well known that in Dresden many people have been bribed to insert reports of marvellous cures in the *Dresdener Anzeiger*. (3) Let the position of homœopathy in relation to medical police and the law be explained.

PAGE 23: Homœopathy is dead, its ghost only haunts us.

PAGE 38: So long as the invention of an eccentric doctor is allowed to circulate in the land, order ceases to prevail.

Schmidt's *Jahrbücher* (II. p. 372) declares its agreement with the tenor of this pamphlet, though the fact of its being anonymous does not seem to please it. In 1841 Medicinalrath Dr. Sander* energetically demands State help for the suppression of homœopathy.

We are surprised at the horrible stupidity of our ancestors, who piously burnt with solemn legal forms women afflicted with hysterical convulsions as witches possessed by the devil, but will not a later age smile at our boasted enlightenment, at our weakness, who dare not suppress a manifest imposture in a practical science, a life-destroying mode of treatment, a palpable superstition?.....Many have already been sacrificed to this system, and until time disabuses the public and the physicians there will be many more victims. If this method is recognized as deception and error, why are not forcible steps taken against it?

* Hitzig's *Annalen der Criminalrechtspflege*, Vol. XVII., H. 3, p. 350.—*Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. XXII., p. 198.

This treatise speaks of the case of a woman suffering from mental illusions, who did not improve under homœopathic treatment. "I can," so Sander had declared in his report to the authorities in which he at the same time demands the prosecution of the homœopathic practitioner, "I can however, as a doctor, give the assurance that under the true appropriate treatment with blood-letting, with cooling, derivative, opening, alterative and soothing medicines, the disease was quite curable." We must mention that the patient subsequently enjoyed the benefit of "rational" treatment, but this time, as it happened, without the desired result. "Let us," the Medicinalrath further exclaims, "let us leave their sinister nocturnal habits to these obscure night creatures—but as soon as homœopathy appears in the light of day and in practice, it ceases to be harmless mysticism; it becomes quackery, which must not be ridiculed, but seriously combated and suppressed." "There is a true science of medicine—founded on scientific principles, and derived from the experience of a thousand years."

The desire for the support of the police in their combat with the homœopaths was most prominent at the time of the cholera and soon after.

The reasons for the spread of homœopathy were the same as those of to-day. Foolish, simple, silly people "were attracted by the homœopathic snare." Some asserted that the homœopathic public was chiefly formed of uneducated people; others declared that the educated public contributed the larger contingent of adherents; one controversialist thought that clergymen and schoolmasters were "the pillars of homœopathy;" another was convinced that the higher ranks of the military and lawyers were attracted by the "delusion." It was agreed that Hahnemann had been very adroit in appealing to the non-medical public (this he only did after the medical profession had rejected him). But there were men who looked deeper.

The espousal of the cause of homœopathy by the *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen* contributed largely to the spread of the new doctrine, and this paper was very unfavourably regarded by the allopaths. They termed the editor the Sancho Panza of the Don Quixote Hahnemann, and made many other jests at his expense, which are to be found in the *Wonders of Homœopathy*, 1833. It was a deadly crime to admit articles favourable to homœopathy into its columns ; and it was no atonement that its opponents too were allowed to hold forth in the language peculiar to them. Thus Dr. A. H. Nicolai in the same paper of 1832, p. 4254, was allowed to call the founder of homœopathy "weak minded or insane, most probably the former, as is usual in old age."

What could induce the editor, Dr. Hennicke, publicly to espouse such nonsense ? He was, in other respects, as no one could deny, an intelligent man. But that too was to be explained. Kraus was acquainted with the circumstances and revealed them :* "I cannot believe the report which has just been spread that Hahnemann is indebted to a certain secret alliance for many of these deplorable articles in favour of his system and for their spread. I cannot think that sensible men would willingly engage in such stupid cheateries—for such secret alliances are nothing else—which is more abominable and criminal than highway robbery and arson." "Attention should be called to an attempted stroke of policy to gain the support of the mob by summoning the police against themselves, and thus posing as martyrs."

Besides State help—the favourite resource up to the present time—other proposals were made. Prof. Töltenyi, of Vienna, declared in the Hungarian medical paper *Orvosi Jár* of July 6th, 1845, that the best way to overthrow homœopathy was by means of publicity. He owns that he had formerly expressed the contrary opinion, and had been opposed to publicity. "My readers will be astonished at hearing me express this opinion. I willingly own my

* *L.c.*, p. 405.

fault in having opposed publicity. I had not then learnt by experience." "So long as the homœopaths pose before the public as persecuted individuals, as victims of a good cause (as they say), so long they will find proselytes among doctors and protectors among the non-professionals."

In the professor's opinion homœopathy is everywhere losing ground—only in Austria does it flourish—because there it is persecuted.

The homœopaths in Hungary are still greater braggarts than those in Austria. The Etna which has been kindled in other states has opened a new crater here. For heaven's sake, my dear compatriots, let them alone. Only do not get involved in any scientific discussions with them, for you know that they have always protested against reason. Take care not to enter into any practical trials of curing diseases with them, for on this field they will certainly wriggle away from you. But publicity is the most effectual weapon. Let the homœopaths, then, open their hospitals and mount their rostra ; the hundreds of ears that will hear them, the hundreds of eyes that will follow them with attention will soon overthrow them. If history does not deceive us, and if experience deserves respect, then the result of this publicity must be the same as it has been in England, France and Germany.

In those countries homœopathy had been destroyed, the author thinks.*

This very sensible proposal met with no applause among the allopaths, and this was fortunate for them ! for if they had allowed the homœopaths free scope, the beauty and the dominant position of their own therapeutics would soon have come to an end. It was only possible by means of State help to defend their mode of treatment against homœopathy.

But even this mighty aid seemed not enough for some of them. Calumnies, and the most violent personal attacks on Hahnemann and the homœopaths were called in to help. The most remarkable achievements in this line are

* *Allg. hom. Ztg.*, Vol. XXXIV., Nos. 10 and 11.

found in the *Wonders of Homœopathy* of 1833; *The way to the Grave of Homœopathy*,* *Lesser, o.c.*, and many others. Simon was a shining example to all. In conjunction with others who held his views, he published, besides the works already mentioned, a special periodical for combating homœopathy—the *Anti-homœopathische Archiv*."

The frolicksome manner in which the allopaths here disported themselves is shown by the following examples:—Hahnemann is thus described by an allopath† who professes to have met him several times (such epithets as "shameless deceiver," "swindler," "charlatan," &c., we will pass by, as they are things of course):

PAGE 46.—"Hahnemann's language bears the stamp of ignorance."

PAGE 52.—"I do not know how the idea has arisen that Hahneman possesses acumen and learning. He has certainly not revealed either in his writings." Repeated mention is made of Hahnemann's "stupidity" (p. 44, 47, 53, 113).

PAGE 46.—"When he examines a patient the deceiver pretends to take notes for the sake of appearance."

PAGE 50.—A story is related that on one occasion another allopath, with whom Hahnemann was not acquainted, went to him as a pretended patient. Hahnemann examined him a long time—a whole hour—and entered the statements of the "patient" in his journal, and finally demanded a large fee. "When the strange doctor discovered himself and called Hahnemann a monstrous quack, he behaved like a madman." This was in 1835, and Hahnemann was eighty years old.

"At the first visit it cost me much trouble to keep serious, and not to laugh in the face of the old impostor, every time he opened his mouth."

The allopaths knew very well that they might say what they liked without fear of contradiction. At p. 53, a statement of Hahnemann's is mentioned that he did not read

* Both works were characteristically published anonymously.

† Vol. I., H. 2.

the attacks on him. If Hahnemann had wished to read and answer all the hostile pamphlets that appeared even only up to the year 1840, he would be still at work. But his reticence encouraged this class of combatants.

All impartial writers of that time and the personal accounts of men still living who knew Hahnemann, are unanimous that he was amiable and courteous in personal intercourse.

PAGE 49.—“If the most modest objections are made, he becomes wild, stamps with his feet, behaves, in short, like a lunatic.”

PAGE 44.—A story is told which manifestly bears the stamp of invention. “The Russian princess N. met Hahnemann while walking with her little boy, of about seven years, and in passing the child did not take off his cap to the great man. The shameless humbug vehemently reproached the princess the next day, spoke so bitterly about naughtiness and bad bringing-up that the lady was seized with an attack of convulsions, which frequently recurred when she got home. Although the old rascal was the cause of it all, he would not visit the princess in spite of the most urgent entreaties. This conduct nearly cost the great man his life, for the highly exasperated husband of this lady was very near running him through with his sword.”

After a long discourse on the excellence of bleeding, we are told on p. 71: “A doctor who has ever seen the wonderful effect of a big bleeding, I mean to the extent of twenty ounces and upwards, could never entertain the foolish and cruel notion of neglecting it and waiting till an attack of bleeding at the nose should come on.....This is my advice, to banish doctors from the country as soon as bleeding, emetics, and purgatives are pronounced unnecessary.”

We should not certainly be expecting too much if we cherished the hope that some, at least, among the allopaths would raise their voices against this method of carrying on the warfare. But there was silence all round! Silence? Joy reigned in Israel, and care was taken to circulate this

allopathic periodical as much as possible. The most severe criticism of this *Archiv* is found in Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*.* "The exterior of the *Antihomöopathische Archiv* is attractive."

In order to annihilate Hahnemann morally, certain letters, said to be by him, are published in this periodical, whose sole object seems to be to propagate personal attacks on Hahnemann and his adherents. No evidence is given of the genuineness of a single one of these letters, though Simon gives it to be understood that the originals could be seen at his house in Hamburg. A man such as Simon, against whom so many intentional untruths and the complete loss of all self-control can be proved, deprives himself of the right to be believed, and the whole contents of this periodical serve only to shew the height which was reached by party hatred, and can, for that very reason, never be used as a proof against Hahnemann or against homœopathy. Almost all the "facts" alleged, in so far as they can now be investigated, can be proved to be malicious inventions.

A certain class of his opponents dwelt, with special pleasure, on "Hahnemann's avarice." They, at last, even dared to make the statement that Hahnemann had only been induced to propagate his system by love of gain, and that he himself knew it to be a swindle by which he could make money.

To prove this, an extract was made from the *Dorfzeitung*, the object of which was to entertain the readers at the expense of truth. Hahnemann is said to have given his fiancée a ring, in 1835, which cost 500 thalers, and to have given to her in addition 40,000 thalers, and 32,000 to each of his children. As this subject was pursued with much zeal by his adversaries, we must discuss the repulsive theme.

* Vol. VIII., p. 242.

According to Hahnemann's will,* he possessed, in the year 1835—being then in his 81st year—a fortune of 60,000 thalers (£9,000), and two small houses in Köthen, which represented a value of about 10,000 thalers (£1,500). He had saved this sum, after a long life of hard toil, by dint of great economy, and by denying himself all expensive pleasures. An allopathic “rational” practitioner would have been sorely dissatisfied with Hahnemann's income. And how many benefits did Hahnemann confer on the sick! And what good was ever done at the sick bed by the “rational” professor of that time?

“*Alkali pnuëum.*”

Hahnemann thus denominated a substance which he thought he had discovered (in 1800) in borax. In order to understand this mistake we must transport ourselves to that period. We must repeat what we have once already stated: If a substance is placed before a chemist, now-a-days, for investigation, he asks himself of what known substances is this body composed? Then the question was, generally: What new substance, hitherto unknown, does it contain? From the faulty modes of investigation, the absence of a definite method of analysis, and—what was worse—the impurity of the re-agents, which were shamefully adulterated in that day, many mistakes arose.

Professor Klaproth—who was then the first, or one of the first chemists of Germany—discovered a new and hitherto unknown substance, “diamond spar”: it was a mistake.† Proust discovered “sal mirabile perlatum,” a salt of pearl (Monro 1.67), in the urine; it was supposed to be a combination of soda with a new acid (pearl acid); it was subsequently ascertained to be the already known phosphate of soda.

* Given literally in *Fliegende Blätter über Homöopathie*, 1878, No. 15 and 16.

† Crelly's *Annalen*, 1789, I., p. 7, and *ib.*, 1795, II., p. 534.

Other chemists—among them von Ruprecht, Professor of Chemistry—discovered new metals: borbonium in baryta, parthenum in chalk, austrum in magnesia; also the sedative salt (boracic acid) was supposed to have been reduced to a metal; on examination, these discoveries were found to be iron, probably derived from impure Hessian crucibles. Klaproth, who, together with Karsten, Hermbstädt, and others, detected these errors, warned the public against these discoveries in the *Intelligenzblatt* of the *Janaer Literaturzeitung* of 1790, No. 146.*

Borax had long been an object of special attention to chemists. Prof. Fuchs wrote, in 1784, a monograph † upon it, with a historical account of the views as to its composition; which, in 1784, were still uncertain and contradictory. "We know very little about borax, and are not yet agreed as to its composition, for one says it contains this substance, and another that," says Fuchs in his preface. The celebrated De la Metherie,‡ in 1791, thus speaks of boracic acid: "The constituents of this acid are atmospheric air, inflammable gas, caloric and water. But it is probable that it contains the other gases also." In 1796 § it was still thought "that boracic acid was composed of phosphoric acid."

In 1799 Crell states|| that borax is composed of soda and boracic acid, but thinks (*ib. p. 323*) that the acid in borax "is intimately mixed with some unknown earths or a kind of phlogiston." In order to ascertain this, he instituted sixty-seven experiments, which he describes in detail, but without coming to any conclusion from them; he, however, maintains that borax contains something peculiar besides.

Crell's *Annalen* ¶ published, in 1800, an article of four

* Crell's *Annalen*, 1791, I., 5 and 119.

† *Versuch einer natürlichen Geschichte des Borax und seiner Bestandtheile*, Jena, 1784.

‡ *Ueber die reinen Luftarten*, translated by Hahnemann, II., p. 273.

§ Crell's *Annalen*, 1796, II., 453.

|| *Ib.*, 1799, II., 320.

¶ 1800, T., p. 392—395.

pages entitled: *Pnëumlaugensalz, entdeckt von Herrn Dr. Samuel Hahnemann*, in which the latter describes the properties of a “new kind of fixed alkali, called ‘alkali pnëum,’ from its property of swelling out to twenty times its size when heated to redness.” This article was also copied into other periodicals.

Hahnemann had worked zealously as an amateur in the field of chemistry for twenty years, and with the most valuable results for chemistry and for the welfare of mankind. He never obtained any assistance from the State, or any other source, and was not even able to fit up a proper laboratory, such as the apothecaries possessed. Disinterested love of research and of science had made him go to great expense for a laboratory, costly re-agents, &c. Thinking he had made a very valuable discovery, he handed over his alkali pneum to an agent in Leipzig who sold it for a friedrichsd'or the ounce. In those days there were no patents whereby chemists now-a-days secure remuneration for their discoveries, and make the consumer, and eventually the patient, pay so heavily (as in the case of salicylic acid).

Professors Klaproth, Karsten and Hermbstädt analysed the new alkali, and found that it was borax! Instead of communicating their results to Hahnemann who had given proofs enough that he was striving after the same objects as themselves, and asking him for an explanation, they published their discovery in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, and called Hahnemann to account. Prof. Trommsdorff, who owned an apothecary's shop, hastened to communicate this incident to a larger public in the *Reichsanzeiger*, the name then borne by the *Allgemein. Anzeiger der Deutschen*, and called Hahnemann's proceeding, “unexampled impudence.” Crell,* however, lamented Hahnemann's “great mistake.”

The latter at once explained the matter in several journals, among others in Prof. A. N. Scherer's *Journal der Chemie* (1801, p. 665). “I am incapable of wilfully deceiv-

* Index to the vol. for 1800.

ing, I may, however, like other men be unintentionally mistaken. I am in the same boat with Klaproth and his 'diamond spar,' and with Proust and his 'pearl salt.' I had before me some crude (probably Chinese) borax (supplied by J. N. Nahrmann, of Hamburg). A solution of potash dropped into a filtered ley of borax, not yet crystallizable, precipitated a large floury saline sediment. As authors assure us that pure borax is rendered uncryallizable by the addition of potash.....is it wonderful that I took the precipitate for some new peculiar substance? The re-agents also displayed different phenomena from those of ordinary borax" as Hahnemann had already stated in Crell (*loc. cit.*). Hahnemann now gives in three pages a detailed account of the course and cause of his mistake, and finally states that he had already given back what money he had received.

Prof. A. N. Scherer adds (*I.c.*):—

Why did Professor Trommsdorff (the only person who has dared to throw any doubt on Hahnemann's integrity), not await this defence before making (in the *Reichsanzeiger*) such an exceedingly ill-natured and intolerant attack on Hahnemann? Everyone who, like myself, knows him, will acknowledge that Herr Hahnemann is an upright and truth-loving man. It is incredible that he would consciously sell borax as a new substance, that could not be expected from him! Such charlatanry cannot be attributed to Hahnemann! What well-merited aspersions would he not have anticipated?

.... Our foreign colleagues will, from this proceeding, receive new confirmation of their assertion that savants are nowhere as malicious in their treatment of each other as in Germany Is no one capable of making mistakes? or has Professor Trommsdorff himself never made a mistake? Let him recall to mind his celebrated denial of the existence of oxygen in oxide of mercury.

At all events, Hahnemann has more readily acknowledged his error than did Herr Trommsdorff in the case alluded to. In Hahnemann's case it was unintentional error, in Trommsdorff it was wilful, for he admitted that he had combated Lavoisier's system before he had begun to study it.

Lastly, he says that Klaproth's "diamond spar" was a mistake similar to Hahnemann's.

Six years later Hahnemann wrote in the *Allgem. Anzeig. der Deutschen*, 1806, p. 2297, "If I once made an error in

chemistry—for to err is human—I was the first to acknowledge it as soon as I was better informed."

This story of the pnœum has been misrepresented, even to this day, by the adversaries of Hahnemann, in order to demonstrate to the public that he was a vulgar impostor, and hence to draw the inference that homœopathy is an imposture of a similar character. Does such an unscrupulous method of carrying on the contest redound to their honour?

The letter to the father of the epileptic patient.

In order to brand Hahnemann as a charlatan, a letter which he wrote in Brunswick to the father of an epileptic, on June 1, 1796, was widely circulated, and it was published, twelve years later, in the *Allgemeiner Anzeig. d. Deutschen*, in 1808, by the ex-Ducal physician in ordinary, Dr. Brückmann. Hahneman had an epileptic under treatment, and demanded an unusually high fee in a letter addressed to the father of the patient, from which Brückmann and his other opponents sought to prove that he was a "charlatan." It was only after 1830 that this letter, published by Brückmann, evidently from personal motives, was seized upon by Hahnemann's opponents to use as a weapon against him. This letter does not prove that Hahnemann acted like a charlatan; that he, for the sake of making money, promised results which he himself knew to be impossible. In many places of his medical writings, in Hufeland's *Journal* (1796) —*Apothekerlexicon, &c.*—he maintains the possibility of curing epilepsy. He employed in those days especially belladonna, hyoscyamus, stramonium, conium, &c.; these medicines had only been introduced into the *materia medica* a short time before by Störck. The use of these "heroic vegetable substances" was not general. Most doctors avoided them on account of the violent toxical symptoms which they produced in the ordinary doses and in their uncertain preparations. Hahnemann had, likewise, admin-

istered these narcotics in the ordinary doses, and obtained bad results.* But he did not on that account abandon them, he diminished the dose, as we have already seen, and was thereby enabled to make extensive use of them ; while his colleagues either did not know these remedies, or abstained from their use on account of their poisonous effects. Moreover, he administered his properly-prepared remedies singly, and not in complex prescriptions. Hahnemann was thus already in advance of his colleagues.

PAGE 787, *l. c.*—Brückmann writes : “Dr. Hahnemann gave to our patient, for several months, little pills about the size of a large pin’s head, and only very few of them ;” his practice thus agreeing with his statements as to the proper size of the dose of the narcotics, *e.g.*, in his *Apothekerlexicon*. Therefore, when Hahnemann promised good results from his treatment of epilepsy, it is clear that it was his firm conviction that he would obtain them.

The reason for the *personal* attack of Brückmann is very obvious. “Hahnemann blames and belittles his colleagues simply from love of gain.” Hahnemann gave many and sufficient proofs, up to 1796—and still more up to 1808—that he was convinced that physicians did a great deal of harm. They rejoined by ascribing to him bad motives from their hatred of his behaviour. Hahnemann, by his fearless conduct on all occasions, served humanity. He had access to the Duke of Brunswick, and may, very probably, have freely expressed his views to him, and have succeeded in arousing his attention. This fact would not render the position of Brückmann, the physician in ordinary, more comfortable.

PAGE 785, *l. c.*—Brückmann says : “Hahnemann has little practical knowledge.”

PAGE 788.—“Several physicians afterwards attended patients who had been treated and *mal*-treated by Hahnemann, and restored them to health.” Doctors of that day against Hahnemann !

PAGE 788.—“Hahnemann did not act well by his patients

* Hufeland’s *Journ.*, 1798, Vol. V., St. 1.

from a moral point of view. I might mention a certain young lady from Hanover, and others."

The adversaries of homœopathy called Brückmann a "worthy man," in order to gain credit for his calumnies. A man who does not hesitate to publish such wretched scandals in one of the most widely-read papers of the day in order to depreciate a personal opponent cannot be called "a worthy man;" we have seen how high Hahnemann's moral standard was both for himself and others. If opponents appeal to the judgment of a third person who calls Brückmann "a worthy old man," the fact must not be suppressed that this third person* thus expresses himself concerning Hahnemann (p. 973): "I only know Dr. Hahnemann through his learned and useful works, and I respect and admire this man for his God-like intelligence, even if all his observations on the mode of action of the remedies he describes, may not be entirely confirmed." Brückmann had scoffed† at the proving of drugs on healthy subjects, and concerning Hahnemann's *Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum*, the incompleteness of which had been admitted by Hahnemann himself, he expresses the following opinion:—"If all medical men were to make such experiments on themselves, I am afraid that they would soon be crippled both in mind and body." The third person already mentioned writes:—"The letter here quoted is certainly a rather remarkable composition, but we should rather look to the good and useful things this man, to whom medicine owes so much, has done." Further, "it is very much to be desired that the public should be spared the recital of such matters—they are an abomination to it." A man to whom such contemptuous advice could be given as is here given to Doctor Brückmann, cannot really be held to be a "worthy old man," and this epithet appears to be only an empty formula, and the only real means of judging his character is furnished by his article. Twelve years after the event he retails the scandal in order to injure an opponent, and that, too, in

* "H. of the department Ocker."

† *L.c.*, p. 792 and 793.

one of the most widely read journals in Germany. That sufficiently indicates his character! He called Hahnemann a "charlatan."

Hahnemann replied :—*

His character is known in Brunswick, and his article reveals in every line a mind revelling in the blacker sides of noble humanity. He artfully kept back this calumny twelve years, until the witnesses who could have proved its falsehood were dead, and until the clear-sighted Duke of Brunswick, who would have punished such an action towards me whom he loved, was dead. A scandal of this kind (I cannot understand how the editor of a paper like the *Anzeiger der Deutschen*, which is generally kept so free from personalities and rascally abuse of men of unstained character, could have allowed its pages to be soiled with it) deserves no refutation.

Envy prompted this libel, and in the concoction of the calumny, mendacity and weakness of intellect strive for the mastery. It was envy respecting several cures of a remarkable nature which I was successful in accomplishing in Brunswick, which incited him to make the malicious private insinuations with which he persecuted me for many years. Envy was the spark which, smouldering for twelve years within his breast (for up to this time I get patients from his district), broke out at last into a fire, by the light of which the world was to read the important secret that I had not succeeded in the treatment of such and such a case.

It was Brückmann, too, who first used against him publicly his mistake as to the alkali pneum. "Was this simply love of gain, or was there any other reason?" This turn of expression was calculated to have its effect upon the uninstructed public. Brückmann must have known, or at least he should have ascertained, how matters really stood before writing publicly in this manner. The period when the mistake occurred was only eight years distant. "Another part," Hahnemann replies, "consists of old accusations which were long ago refuted, but are now raked up by him (he has never read, or he ignores the refutation), and mixed up with ignorant statements and misrepresentations. The remainder are simple untruths which could have had their birth only in his own mind."

Brückmann had called him a dealer in secret nostrums, and had scoffed at his frequent change of residence, and

* *Ib.*, No. 97, p. 1025.

had thus again gossiped about his private affairs in a widely-read journal. Hahnemann answers:—

When I then aroused his envy I was not in a position to lay the principles of my new and efficacious system of treatment before the world ; they had not arrived at a sufficiently advanced stage. But when I had sufficiently matured them I gave them to the world in a book, which neither he, nor the like of him, could ever have appreciated, encased, as they are, in old-world prejudices ; *hinc illæ lacrimæ!* I submitted my mode of treatment to a more intelligent public. A dealer in secret nostrums does the exact contrary.

Whether I ought to have gone on vegetating, rooted like a polypus to my native rock, and never have dwelt occasionally in freedom in different countries in order to attain a wider culture (as the most distinguished men of all ages have done), is a matter on which I can hardly suffer myself to be dictated to by Brückmann and his friends.

“ *Hahnemann Denies the Healing Power of Nature.*”

From a passage in the *Organon* Hahnemann is accused of denying the healing power of nature. His opponents have repeated this reproach so frequently, that in the end even the homœopaths themselves have been confused, and in their writings and even at a meeting of the Central Society in Magdeburg in 1830, they declared “ that they did not agree with Hahnemann in rejecting the *vis medicatrix naturæ*.”

In order to understand the passage of the *Organon* quoted below, we must endeavour to realise the situation of that day. His enemies had cast upon him the following reproach among others : Your method of treatment is in direct contradiction to our great teacher—Nature. Open your eyes ! A rush of blood to the head, a congestive headache, is healed by nature by a wholesome bleeding from the nose. We copy nature and draw blood when congestion is present. You fly in nature’s face and reject bleeding. In a case of ophthalmia you see an eruption make its appearance in the contiguous parts of the face and the inflammation is thereby diminished. We follow this hint of nature and excite an artificial eruption or inflammation by

means of blisters, moxas, cauteries, setons, &c. Have you never seen the original malady relieved by metastases? have you never seen a skin eruption disappear on the supervention of diarrhoea? At variance with nature you try to fulfil her requirements!

Hahnemann was often assailed with such reproaches by his earlier opponents, and the passage cited by later opponents from the fourth edition of the *Organon*, was an answer to these attacks, as is clearly shown by the text.

They (the allopaths) allege that their multifarious evacuant processes are a helpful mode of treatment by *derivation*, wherein they follow the example of nature's efforts to assist the diseased organism, which resolves fever by perspiration and diuresis, pleurisy by epistaxis, sweat and mucous expectoration—other diseases by vomiting, diarrhoea, and bleeding from the anus, articular pains by ulcers on the legs, inflammation of the throat by salivation, &c., or removes them by metastases and abscesses, which it develops in parts at a distance from the disease. Hence they thought the best thing to do was to *imitate* nature In this imitation of the self-aiding power of nature they endeavoured to excite by force new symptoms in the tissues that are least diseased in order to admit of a gradual lysis by the curative powers of nature. [And in a note]: It is only slighter acute diseases that are wont, when the natural period of their course has expired, to terminate quietly in resolution, as it is called, with or without the employment of not very powerful allopathic remedies But in severe acute and in chronic diseases, crude nature and the old school are equally powerless.*

Here, it will be observed, he is only speaking of the derivative method; the meaning is, in this connexion, that by means of ulcers and metastases, &c., severe acute and chronic diseases cannot be cured by an imitation of the, in this case, crude operation of nature.

The old-school merely followed the example of crude instinctive nature in her efforts, which are barely successful even in the slighter cases of acute diseases.†

He remarks in a note:—

The pitiable and highly imperfect efforts of the vital force to relieve itself in acute diseases, is a spectacle that should excite our compassion and command the aid of all the powers of our rational mind.

* *Organon*, Dudgeon's translation, p. 24, 25.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 27.

He tries to show that the self-help of nature, to which his opponents appeal in order to justify their bleedings, purgatives, setons, &c., is not worthy of imitation. That our interpretation of his meaning is the true one is shown by other passages, and at all times he gives full credit to the healing power of nature.

In his *Essay on a new Principle &c.*,* 1796, he maintains that nature, unassisted, will triumph over most acute diseases if the obstacles to recovery are removed.

In the year 1797 he says :— †

I do not now allude to cures effected by dietetic rules alone without drugs, which if simple are not to be despised, and which are very successful in many cases.

. . . . If it be necessary to make considerable changes in diet and regimen, the ingenuous physician will do well to mark what effect such changes will have on the disease before he prescribes the mildest medicine.

In his criticism of Brown in Hufeland's *Journal*,‡ which we have already quoted, we read :—

That kind nature and youth will, assisted by such appropriate regimen and even by itself, cure diseases having far other producing causes than deficiency and excess of irritability, is the common experience of every impartial observer; but Brown must deny this in order to support his scholastic system. But without reckoning this divine power, &c.

In 1801 he thus criticises Brown.§

According to him we must not trust anything to the powers of nature; we must never rest with our medicines, we must always either stimulate or debilitate. What a calumny of nature, what a dangerous insinuation for the ordinary half-instructed practitioner, already too officious! What a ministration to his pride to be deemed the lord and master of nature!

In *Aesculapius in the Balance*, 1805, he again draws attention to the healing power of nature :—||

It were easy to run through a catalogue of similar acute diseases, and show that the restoration of persons who, in the same disease were treated on wholly opposite principles, could not be called cure but spontaneous recovery.

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 307.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 363.

‡ *Lesser Writings*, p. 413.

§ *Lesser Writings*, p. 618.

|| *Lesser Writings*, p. 472.

In 1808 Hahnemann writes :—*

Do not the poor, who take no medicine at all, often recover much sooner from the same kind of disease than the well-to-do patient, who has his shelves filled with large bottles of medicines ?

In 1831 he, in *Allopathy*, says :—†

If they call this an efficacious sort of method, how can they reconcile this with the fact that of all that die in a year, a sixth part of the whole number dies under them of inflammatory affections, as the r own statistics prove ! Not a twelfth of them would have died had they not fallen into such blood-thirsty hands—if they had but been left to nature, and kept away from that old pernicious art.

Griesselich,‡ who visited Hahnemann in 1832 in Cöthen, says: “ Hahnemann has often been reproached for his contempt for the healing power of nature. I myself was led into this error by something in the *Organon*.....In conversing with Hahnemann I have never perceived anything tending to the denial of this healing power. It appears that the reformer must have given occasion to misunderstandings.” Negligent perusal and ignorance of his works are the causes of these misunderstandings.

A follower of Hahnemann's, Dr. Kammerer, of Ulm, wrote a small book in 1834: *Die Homöopathik heilt ohne Blutentziehlungen* (Leipzig, 1834). Hahnemann wrote the preface, and in it he declares that he fully concurs with its contents. What rôle does the healing power of nature play in it ? (p. 1): “ Blood-letting implies an undervaluing and slighting of the great healing power of nature.” At p. 6 the course of inflammatory diseases, pneumonia, &c., is described, where they are left to nature and generally recover. “ Venesection weakens the organism and interferes with the healing power of nature.” PAGE 16:—“ The beneficent power of nature.” PAGE 17:—“ The proper healing power of nature often effects wonderful and rapid cures.” “ The severest illnesses often get rapidly well of themselves.” “ Even in chronic diseases the marvellous healing

* *Lesser Writings*, p. 553.

† *Lesser Writings*, p. 830. He is speaking of blood-letting in cases of fever, especially pneumonia.

‡ *Skizzen aus der Mappe eines reisenden Homöopathen*, 1832, p. 35.

power of nature is seen." PAGE 18:—"Another power—a medicinal power cannot possibly be more beneficial than the inherent recuperative power." PAGE 21:—"Diseases are cured as rapidly, or more so, by the proper healing power of nature than by the best remedies." In this work of eighty pages, on almost every page the healing power of nature is lauded. Finally he says: "Let leading medical men pay more attention to the requirements of nature." Hahnemann thus concludes his preface: "Our dear Kammerer, of Ulm, whose sensible treatise I have now great pleasure in introducing to the public."

"Hahnemann Stole his Doctrine from other Authors."

We have already said that Hahnemann referred in 1805 to the testimony of older authors as supporting his principle of cure, mentioning among others, that of Hippocrates in the passage from $\pi\epsilon\rho\lambda\tau\delta\pi\omega\nu$.

In 1806 Ploucquet* entered the field, and quoted a passage from *Thom. Erasti Disputat.* (III. 226), in which this sentence occurs: "cum dicit Paracelsus, simil. similibus curari, non insanit, non stulte loquitur, sed recte sentit et philosophice pronunciat." Ploucquet adds no remark of his own—he seems to imply that he discovered this passage incidentally while reading this author.

In 1808 an opponent of Hahnemann quotes this remark of Ploucquet's in the *Allgemein. Anzeig. d. Deutschen*, No. 78, in order to contest the priority of Hahnemann for his doctrine.

In 1829, a Dr. Mannsfeld wrote in Henke's *Zeitsch. für Staatsarsneikunde*† mentioning Hahnemann's *sim. simil.* as a "repetition of the Paracelsian paradox."

In 1831 Professor Schultz, of Berlin, entered the arena, and wrote the *Homöobiotik*. In this it is asserted that Hahne-

* Hufeland's *Journ.*, St. 1, p. 170.

† Kleinert, *Repert. der ges. deutsch. med. u. chir. Journalistik*, I., p. 143.

mann borrowed his homœopathy from Paracelsus. Schultz distinctly asserts that the principle of similars, the denial of nature's healing powers, and the rejection of the principle *contraria contrariis*, and of the use of mixtures and of large doses, are found in Paracelsus, as is also dynamism. Consequently, Hahnemann borrowed his system from Paracelsus. Notwithstanding this, he has totally misunderstood the latter. "Homœopathy is the principle of Paracelsus misunderstood, falsely represented, and dressed out in an unscientific garb" (p. 108).

In the *Archiv f. d. hom. Heilk.** Rummel has taken the useless trouble to refute this nonsense instead of laughing at it. It would have been a useful undertaking if the professor had shown that Paracelsus mentions in such and such a place that certain remedies show their healing power on the homœopathic principle. Schultz would thereby have excited great interest, and have earned the gratitude of all homœopaths, who would not have grudged him the innocent pleasure of accusing Hahnemann of plagiarism. He, however, observes profound silence respecting this point, and quotes instead two vague expressions which Rademacher interprets in quite a different way, and Rademacher is certainly one of the men most thoroughly acquainted with Paracelsus's writings. In the whole book—263 pages long—however much we may search, we can find no further proof of the allegation respecting Paracelsus's principle; instead of this, the reader meets with vague expressions, such as the following in p. 192.

Hence the essential principles of potentiation, of self-attraction and self-repulsion, and of the direct development of a new repulsion from the substance formed by attraction—which is the organization of these powers to a living system—cannot be understood.

None the less this article served the opponents of homœopathy as a proof of the statement that Hahnemann had not himself discovered his therapeutic principle, but had stolen it from others. Simon took up the idea eagerly.

* Vol. II., H. 1, p. 196.

Unfortunately Rademacher, who understood the merits of Paracelsus and his teaching better than any one else, and who had rendered it accessible to medical men, expressed the following opinion :* "He rejected the principle *contraria contrariis*—but that he substituted for it the principle : sames are cured by sames (so R. translates here and on p. 115 the *similia similibus*) has indeed been recently asserted, but it is quite untrue. Paracelsus says :—

A physician who is faithful to nature says : this is *morbus terebinthinus*, this is *morbus sileris montani*, this is *morbus helleborinus*, etc.; and not : this is *branchus*, this is *rheuma*, this is *coryza*, this is *catarrhus*. These names are not founded upon the basis of the medicine; for same should be compared to its nominal same.

Paracelsus asserted that every diseased organ has its remedy in external nature. These remedies he calls (parodying the doctrine of signatures) the external organs, and he thence constructs the apparent paradox "same must be driven out by same." Thus, says Paracelsus, herbs are also members. This is a heart, that a liver, this a spleen, &c., which means that such and such a herb acts on the heart, the liver, &c.

The (allopathic) historian H. Damerow contests the statement that Hahnemann borrowed from Paracelsus.† By the homœopaths, however, Paracelsus was frequently said to be a forerunner of Hahnemann.‡ He is indeed to be looked upon as such, but not with regard to the *'similia similibus'*, but rather, in so far as he, in opposition to the followers of Galen—did not attack the supposed *materies morbi*, and the pathological appearances discovered in the dead body, but used specific remedies without having attained the experimental and individualising standpoint occupied by Hahnemann.

In any case the ferment produced by Hahnemann was the principle cause why the man who had been misjudged for three centuries was rescued from the heap of

* Third edit., Berlin, 1848, I., p. 87.

† *Jahrbücher f. wissenschaftl. Kritik*, 1832, p. 274.

‡ Trinks, *Hahnemann's Verdienste um die Heilkunst*, Leipzig, 1843, also *Oesterr. Zeitsch. f. Hom.*, 1848, p. 478.

abuse and calumny with which he had been covered. A hundred years after his death Guido Patin resented the fact that the booksellers sold the works of the "great rascal" (Rademacher), and A. F. Hecker (*l.c.* p. 67) designates him, in 1819, "an extremely rude, ignorant, immoral and selfish man."

J. G. Zimmermann, who treated Frederick the Great in his last illness, writes thus of him :

He even assured his disciples that he would seek advice from the devil if God would not help him. He lived like a pig, looked like a carter, and found his greatest pleasure in consorting with the lowest and most abandoned characters. He was drunk during the greater part of his famous life, and all his works seem to have been written when he was tipsy.

H. Conring, professor in Helmstädt, called him a "*Monstrum hominis, in perniciem onnis melioris doctrinæ natum.*"*

Paracelsus was partly to blame for this want of recognition on the part of his colleagues, because he attacked them too severely, and contemned both anatomy and the ordinary knowledge possessed by doctors. But his greatest crime was that he ventured to oppose the learned big-wigs, and such behaviour has never been left unavenged by them; just as doctors generally have always persecuted with peculiar animosity those who dared to disparage the customs they held sacred and to introduce revolutionary novelties. They only differed from the religious parties in that they lacked an inquisition. Had the allopaths had power to send their enemies to the stake, Hahnemann and his adherents would have been burnt. The reader will, by-and-bye, have an opportunity of judging what the allopaths of to-day would like to do if they had the power.

Hippocrates was accused by his contemporaries of burning the library attached to the Temple of Health at Cnidos, in order that he might enjoy a monopoly of the knowledge it contained, and he was called by his rivals *σκοτόφαγον* (dung-eater), because he so carefully took note of the character of the excrements.

* Comp. F. Mook, *Theophrastus Paracelsus*, Würzburg, 1876, 4, p. 3; also M. B. Lessing, *Paracelsus, &c.*, Berlin, 1839, p. 247.

Galen, who guided the ideas of medical men and their treatment for many centuries, was persecuted so passionately by the doctors of his time that he was obliged to leave Rome.

Harvey (died 1657) met with the most violent opposition when he made known his discovery of the circulation of the blood. He was declared to be insane, so that the public lost all confidence in him, and his practice fell off. Thirty years later Professor Riolan in Paris called him a charlatan. "Malo cum Galeno errare, quam cum Harveyo esse circulator" (circulator signifies also charlatan). And yet the proofs were so clear that it was only necessary to look in order to be convinced, and long and careful study and numerous experiments, such as were essential in order to judge of homœopathy, were not required. When Harvey's teaching became gradually recognised, writers arose who proved that he had not the priority of the discovery.

Blumenbach's *Medic. Bibliothek* thus describes the way of the world :—*

Many persons thought it a serious risk to trust their health to a man who went so far as to dare to state that God caused the blood to circulate in our bodies in a different way from that described by the great Galen ! Pretended refutations were hailed upon him from all quarters of Europe—each one more bulky and more contemptuous than the last. And when this was found of no avail, and the correctness of the matter had to be acknowledged, another 'lot raised their voices and demanded how people could possibly look upon it as a new discovery. Had not King Solomon, in Ecclesiastes (Chap. xii., v. 6), spoken most clearly of the silver cord and the golden fountain, of the pitcher at the fountain and the wheel at the cistern, and was not the circulus sanguinis major described there to the life? Others wished to force this honour not on the wise Solomon, but on the sage Plato ; others on their father Hippocrates ; others on the estimable Bishop Nemesius ; others ascribed the discovery to a Spanish farrier, de la Reyna ; others to various other persons, to anyone but the true discoverer !

Even after the lapse of two centuries, at the beginning of the year 1840, an American professor could not be quiet, he

* Vol. III., No. 1, p. 365, Göttingen, 1788.

attempted to snatch the laurels from Harvey's head and to place them on that of an American. On this side of the Atlantic an Italian joins in the fray (1846), and tirades "against the impudence of that Englishman Harvey, who by forged papers which were circulated through Italy, robbed Cesalpino of the honours due to him; and in the life of this English pirate we read that he left Italy in the year 1606." The Italian Andreas Cesalpinus was the discoverer of the circulation for all who wish to believe it.*

Our Hahnemann fared no better. The passages from old authors, which he himself had quoted in corroboration of his views, were sharply criticised by his opponents and pronounced irrelevant; Kurt Sprengel declares that the passage from Hippocrates, $\pi\epsilon\rho\lambda\tau\delta\pi\alpha\omega\nu$, is detached from its context and is rather to be understood in the sense of *contraria contrariis*.† Professor Sachs caused this passage to be translated in his *Schlusswort* (1826, p. 88) by a philologist, as he says, and quotes the whole passage in full, which is only given in brief by Hahnemann, and comes to the conclusion that Hahnemann did not believe in his own interpretation. Others for whom Simon acted as spokesman,‡ considered this a new proof that Hahnemann was an impostor. This passage was also discussed in the *Alge. Anzeig. der Deutschen*, but was interpreted in the sense Hahnemann gives it (1822, p. 2617).

In 1846, an article appeared in the periodical *Janus* (vol. i., p. 787), *Hippocrates a Homœopath*, which begins thus: "Dr. Landsberg has just made the equally interesting and striking discovery that homœopathy is not a discovery of Hahnemann's, but is contained in its essence in the works which have come down to us under the name of Hippocrates. We must call this discovery striking, because on one hand Hippocrates has been studied so many thousand times without the discovery which is so clearly

* See *Janus, Zeitschrift f. Geschichte der Med.* II., p. 547.

† Kurt Sprengel, *Ueber Homœopathie*, eingeleitet von Schragge, Magdeburg, 1833.

‡ *Geist der Hom. Pseudomesias.*

expressed ever having been made. Knowledge is often ascribed to Hippocrates which he did not possess; and here a fact so important, in a historico-medical point of view, has been overlooked—a fact which is not only the result of inferences which are often only too deceptive, but which is stated as a manifest apophthegm. And yet, on the side both of the allopaths and the homœopaths, as Herr Landsberg justly remarks [the article by Dr. Landsberg is taken from the well-known *Journal* of von Walther and von Ammon, Vol. 3, and these introductory remarks appear to come from Professor Henschel], a great deal of trouble has been taken," &c. We eagerly look for this celebrated, newly-discovered passage. Prof. v. Walther, the King of Saxony's physician in ordinary, von Ammon and Prof. Henschel regard it as convincing; and the historian, Prof. Haesar, mentions it in the same volume (p. 872), and has nothing to say against it; he can only add, with a sigh, "So the inspiring hope grows of being able to trace the earliest germs of homœopathy to the gods and demi-gods of India." And what is the celebrated passage which nobody as yet knew? $\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\tau\pi\omega\tau\hat{\alpha}\nu\kappa\alpha\tau\pi\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\pi\omega$, &c., the identical one that Hahnemann had quoted forty-one years before, and the interpretation of which, in his sense, was held to be a proof that he was an impostor!

In the *Janus* the passage was quoted more fully, and furnished with notes:—

Another way, Hippocrates says, of practising medicine is the following: "By using just that which produces the disease—a cure is effected by the disease itself." Here some examples of strangury, of cough, and of fever are given, and it is stated that they may sometimes be cured by the same things that produced them—homœopathically—and sometimes by the contrary—allopathically;—and again, as a pharmacodynamic illustration, the instance is given of the free use of warm water, both for drinks and baths, because by means of the heat they bring to the body, the fever heat is expelled. In the same way gastric vomiting is removed by the use of an emetic, which produces vomiting in healthy persons. Hippocrates, however, adds and thus, to a certain extent, as the author remarks, recognizes homœopathy as a method, that there are cases which are better suited for allopathic treatment ($\delta\pi\epsilon\nu\alpha\pi\tau\iota\omega\iota\omega\iota$), others better suited for homœopathic treatment ($\tau\omega\iota\sigma\iota\omega\delta\mu\omega\iota\omega\iota$), &c. At the end of this division—

from which only extracts have been given—Hippocrates further speaks about the size of the dose, and remarks in this connexion that we ought not to employ powerful medicines needlessly and seek to weaken them by quantitative relations, but strong remedies ought to be used for severe maladies, and weaker remedies for the less severe. Hahnemann, indeed, has only made use of this maxim in order to caricature it, *i.e.*, to surround his teaching with a nimbus which corresponds to the principle of *mundus vult decipi*. So much is, however, certain that he had already met with the idea of his dilution-theory, as well as with the $\delta\muοια$ $\deltaι$ $\delta\muοια$, and that, in fact, no part of his teaching is peculiar to himself except that which was developed at a later period—the psora theory.

But as Hahnemann's psora theory is rejected by his adherents, Hippocrates remains the father of the actual homœopathy, so that all the harm it has done and all the annoyance it has caused the allopaths ought to be visited on the head of Hippocrates. All their abusive epithets, therefore, hit Hippocrates and not Hahnemann.

One thing is, however, difficult to understand; all those who accuse the founder of homœopathy of plagiarism call it a false doctrine. Why, then, is it necessary to ascribe this false doctrine to another man? Is not a great inconsequence involved here, the point of which is directed against the combatants themselves?

One further remark on this subject. We own, indeed, that to represent Hahnemann as a man who has no ideas of his own, and who, in his cunning or folly, has stolen from others that which has been for more than seventy years considered as in the main true, and which has been practically tested by thousands of physicians, is well adapted to the purpose of disparaging him. It makes Hahnemann and his adherents appear as charlatans and fools. Therefore, this manœuvre has been continued up to a recent date with the aid of the whole allopathic press. If, however, there is a want of agreement in this not unimportant matter, there is a danger incurred that in the end the public will not believe in it in spite of the most decided assurances. We think then that we are advising the allopaths to their own interest when we recommend them to arrive at a final decision as to who the culprit was—whether Hippocrates or Paracelsus. Or is it, perhaps

H. Alberti, as Köppe will have it. To be sure, the man whose work is quoted is not H. but M. Alberti, and he says something quite different, as Sorge* showed. But an allopathic combatant desirous of obtaining his end is not put out by such trifles. Leupoldt† again says of Galen, that he was not disinclined to the principle of *similia similibus*. So that Galen might very well be represented as the one whom Hahnemann robbed.

Trials of Homœopathy by its Opponents.

Hahnemann's course of development shows that he did not arrive at his discoveries on paper, but that he followed the path of induction. He undoubtedly sought to support his discoveries by theories, but expressly asserted that he

* *Zeitsch. des Berliner Ver. hom. Aerzte*, I., p. 35. Michael Alberti or (Latinized) Albertus enjoys in indexes and biographies the reputation of having written an enormous number of works on every conceivable subject connected with medicine. But when we come to examine these works, many of which are sure to be found in every good medical library, we find them to consist mostly of inaugural theses written by medical candidates for the medical degree in Halle, during the period when M. Albertus held the office of dean. The work Köppe manifestly alludes to, though it is evident from his mistakes he only knows it at second or third hand, is a dissertation by one Frederick Adrian la Bruguiere of Stargard in Pomerania, written in 1734, and entitled *De curatione per similia*. Several authors besides Köppe have been led by the title of this work to credit Alberti with the discovery of the homœopathic method, but Sorge who has had an opportunity of seeing and reading the dissertation shows that it has nothing to do with Hahnemann's homœopathy. The author only says that the curative efforts of nature to free herself of disease by means of crises and evacuations, should be assisted by the administration of such medicines as cause or promote such crises and evacuations, thus sweating is to be forwarded by diaphoretics, vomiting by emetics, haemoptysis and epistaxis by blood-letting, diarrœa by purgatives, for these processes being all efforts of nature to throw off something morbid and injurious to the organism, the doctor as the servant of nature should help her to do this in the way she wishes to do it.—[ED.]

† *Geschichte der Medicin*, 1863, p. 145.

wished to be judged only by results. He constantly calls the results of his experiments "unheard of," "incredible." "Repeat my experiments, but repeat them accurately," is his well-known phrase. "If the results are not exactly as homœopathy teaches, then homœopathy is lost."*

As was shown, Hahnemann very soon began to use medicines in a way peculiar to himself. At first he advocated "energetic treatment," and preferred to use "strong" medicines. We notice that he was especially careful with the narcotic herbs, gradually increasing the strength of the doses till the desired effect was obtained. Then he left off the medicine in order to watch carefully the result and the duration of the effects of the medicine. In the course of many years he arrived at giving a single dose and carefully watching the effect on the body; only after the effect had passed away did he repeat the dose.

What physician has ever studied this difficult question so carefully as the great observer Hahnemann? None of his opponents have seriously followed him on this important path of investigation; medical literature makes mention of no physician who sought to solve in this indispensable manner this important problem with such zealous care and such calm and faithful observation. By such studies, extending over years, was Hahnemann led step by step out of the ordinary routine to the vast and beneficent field of his system of therapeutics. The allopaths—to give one example only from this department of medicine—administer mercury like the homœopaths in certain kinds of catarrh of the bowels. The size of their dose is about a grain of calomel. Has any professor or doctor carefully noted down the cases with all the attendant circumstances, (they have as yet been vainly sought for in allopathic writings) in which calomel has been of use, and has he then, in one such case, prescribed a ten times "weaker" dose, which he is certain was prepared according to Hahnemann's directions? Has he carefully observed the effect of it? Has he, in case of a non-result, given a stronger dose to the

* *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, 2nd edit., 1825, p. 1.

patient in question, and found curative effects which did not result from the "weaker" dose? Has he continued such observations, which are, moreover, to the real interest of the patient, through many years, and noted them down with the most careful attention to all objective and subjective phenomena?

This was the mode gradually adopted by Hahnemann in his treatment. None of his opponents have imitated him. Even his finished results, which were attained with so much labour, have been treated with contempt, and that in spite of his earnest and repeated entreaties, and pills and mixtures have been more used than ever. "What would my opponents have risked," so Hahnemann says,* "if they had followed my directions from the first and begun with the use of these small doses? Could anything worse befall them than that they should do no good? Such small doses could not hurt!"

Most of his opponents did not even make superficial trials, and the few who did experiment seemed to have carried out their superficial experiments with a preconceived purpose.

Bischoff† says that duty will not allow homœopathy to be tested in cases of inflammation of the lungs.

Heinroth, who lived in Leipzig at the same time as Hahnemann, and had therefore an opportunity of observing him, writes (*l.c.*, p. 5.): "Hahnemann has given many proofs that he is as thoroughly convinced of the truth of his doctrine as that he is a man of firm character." However, Heinroth would make no trials of homœopathy: "False notions lead to false results."

Neither did Elias (p. 18): "Facts against homœopathy are very much wanted."

Sachs, in his *Schlusswort*, and Fischer say nothing about trials.

Simon‡ agrees with Mückisch that Hahnemann's appeal

* *Chron. Krankh.*, Vol. I., p. iv. Preface.

† *L.c.*, p. 127.

‡ *Pseudomesias*, p. 300.

to them to make a trial of homœopathy is a "wretched proposition," because valuable time would be lost. "We cannot be expected to test every palpable absurdity—life is too noble for that."*

Sachs (*Homœopathy and Herr Kopp*, p. 56) attacks Kopp's remark: "The facts may be true, while the theory founded on them is false." This does not apply to homœopathy (p. 57) "because there is no such thing."

Stieglitz (*l.c.*, p. 163): "Hahnemann's utter untrustworthiness acquits us of any obligation to give his system a practical trial."

Prof. Munk :—†

I should consider it contrary to my conscience to treat my patients according to a method which, from the moment of its first appearance until now, has been regarded by the whole scientific world as useless and injurious. Besides this the further testing of homœopathy at the sick bed is quite superfluous, because this test has often enough been employed, and that quite impartially and objectively.

All subsequent controversialists express themselves exactly or nearly in the same way. Hufeland, Groos, Kopp made trials which resulted favourably to homœopathy. Others, such as Lesser and Friedheim, made trials of the system, and arrived at the conclusion that bleeding is necessary in diseases in which everyone now knows that it is injurious. Eigenbrodt, a young military doctor, who was still studying, and therefore without practical experience, by desire of the Hessian Government, witnessed the treatment of patients in the Vienna Homœopathic Hospitals, and stated, as his opinion, that homœopathy was of no use, and sought to prove it. The homœopathic physician of one of the hospitals in question‡ showed the course of the cases treated during Eigenbrodt's attendance was not as stated by him, and that Eigenbrodt's accounts were coloured by a foregone conclusion.

* *Geist der Hom.*, p. 77.

† *Die Homœopathie*, Bern, 1868, p. 106.

‡ Caspar, *Parallelen zwischen Hom. u. Allop.*, Vienna and Olmütz, 1856.

The following Public Trials of Homœopathy were undertaken :—

In 1821 Stapf treated some patients suffering from chronic diseases in the Berlin Charité. The patients recovered, and the trials were broken off. Sachs* says: "The results are said to have been very unfavourable; the silence of the commission can be looked upon as a proof of their utter worthlessness." As if the commission would not have announced the results to the whole world if they had been unfavourable.

In the same year trials were made by Wislicenus in the Garrison Hospital at Berlin, under the control of military surgeons. The results were favourable. "The military doctors took away the journal of the cases kept by Wislicenus under their superintendence, in order to read it at their leisure. In spite of his urgent entreaties, they forgot to bring it back again."† Lesser‡ says that the journal was kept by a military surgeon appointed for the purpose and delivered to the commission. "To give an account of these experiments was not the business of the highest functionaries. Some day I shall make them known." Lesser's book is full of spite against the homœopaths, so that even Schmidt's *Jahrbücher* expressed its dissatisfaction with it. The reader would not have been referred to some future time, and would not have had to wait in vain to this day if there had been anything unfavourable to homœopathy in this trial.

In the year 1829—30, the Leipzig homœopath, Dr. Herrmann, in Russia (at Tultschin and St. Petersburg), treated some hospital patients at the request of the Russian War Minister. At Tultschin 165 patients were treated thus, 6 of them died; at St. Petersburg 409 patients came under homœopathic treatment, 16 of them died. This is the account of the homœopaths.§ The allopaths say: At Tultschin, out of 128 patients who were treated by the homœo-

* *Schlusswort*, p. 67.

† *L.c.*, p. 305, note.

‡ Rosenberg, *L.c.*, p. 21.

§ Rosenberg, *L.c.*, p. 12.

pathic physician 5 died, notwithstanding that he had obtained all possible advantages for his patients, but among those treated allopathically not one died out of 457 patients. At St. Petersburg, according to the allopathic account, 31 patients died out of 431 treated homœopathically.* The Russians were just as much attached to the "scientific" mode of treatment as the German and other professors. In cholera, too, so Hasper tells us, the homœopathic results were "very unfavourable as compared with the treatment by bleeding." The great mass of patients in these experiments were suffering from inflammation of the lungs, gastric and nervous fever. According to the allopaths, the homœopathic doctor laid great stress on fresh air, cleanliness, and diet.

In Vienna (1828) trials of homœopathic treatment were instituted by the staff physician Dr. Marenzeller. The homœopaths give favourable accounts (Rosenberg, *I.c.*), and publish the 37 cases. The allopaths are silent on the subject. The judgment of the allopathic commission was to the effect that these trials were not in favour of, but that at the same time they were not against homœopathy. But the trial was stopped sooner than had originally been determined. The allopaths assert that the Emperor declared that his soldiers were too dear to him for him to abandon them any longer to the murderous homœopathic treatment (Rosenberg, *I.c.*). Simon† is still more minutely acquainted with the details :—

The homœopath sent his patients, when they were dying, into the allopathic division of the hospital, and so lessened his number of deaths. This story came to the ears of the Confessor of his Majesty the Emperor, either through having seen the records of the homœopathic department, or simply by crediting the current reports. So much is certain, that the Emperor, after an interview with him, gave commands to put an end to the homœopathic experiments. [Simon goes on true to his principle of personally attacking his opponents :] With regard to Marenzeller, he is a man without scientific training, and even without ordinary cultivation. He cannot write two lines of German correctly.....He maintained that women should be delivered on all fours like beasts.

* See *Antihomœop. Archiv*, 1834, Vol. I., H. 2.

† *Antihomœop. Archiv*, 1834, Vol. I., H. 2., p. 125.

Simon offers no proofs for this assertion. We will only mention that Dr. Marenzeller, body-physician of the Archduke John of Austria, was a highly cultivated man, who was quite abreast of the science of his day, and enjoyed a great reputation with the intellectual classes, who constituted the bulk of his practice, and for that reason attracted the whole fury of the opponents of homœopathy. Marenzeller, born in 1765, was originally, when he occupied the post of Privatdocent, lecturer on anatomy and surgical operations in the general hospital of Vienna. In 1788 he went through the Turkish campaign as regimental surgeon, and was nominated staff physician to the Italian hospitals in 1813.* He was the first in the Austrian States who openly espoused Hahnemann's system—to do this no little courage was required. In 1854 he died in Vienna, aged 89 years, and was in full medical activity up to a year before his death. With regard to the unjustifiable attacks of the allopathic opponents, it is not superfluous to quote a letter of King Frederick William IV. to Marenzeller, dated Charlottenburg, January 3rd, 1842:—

I am grateful to you for the confidence with which you, in your letter of October 14th, recommend the homœopathic method to my protection, and I attach no small value to the recommendation of this important subject by a man who, like you, has practised homœopathy with success through a whole generation. I shall willingly continue, as I have begun, to give the system every help that might aid in its development. I have already sanctioned the erection of a homœopathic hospital, and have promised the necessary funds from the State Treasury, and I intend to permit homœopathic practitioners to dispense medicines themselves under certain conditions, and negotiations are still going on on this point.†

Stieglitz‡ says in 1835, of the trials of Marenzeller:—

What hindered the publication of these trials is veiled in obscurity. [Any impartial reader can easily understand it.] Only this is clear, that, in consequence of these trials, the practice of homœopathy was forbidden in the Austrian States.

* *Allg. hom. Zeitg.* Vol. XLIX., p. 54.

† *Allg. Leipz. Zeitg.*, No. 21, 1842, p. 299. *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. XXI., p. 224 (see below about the hospital here alluded to).

‡ *L.c.*, p. 191.

It is well known that nine years previously, in 1819, the practice of homœopathy was forbidden in the Austrian States, and that at the instigation of the same Dr. Stiff, who was President of the Commission at these trials, the same Stiff, who was so great an advocate of "scientific" bleeding. The wording of the prohibition was as follows:—

In consequence of the decision of the Court of Chancery, his Majesty orders that the practice of Dr. Hahnemann's system of homœopathy is to be universally and strictly forbidden.*

Stieglitz† also quotes the account by Mühry, in Casper's *Wochenschrift* for 1835, on the homœopathic experiments made by Andral and Bailly in the Pitié. According to this account no single individual had been cured in five months. This is too much even for the "great critic" Stieglitz. He thinks some at least must have been cured by the healing power of nature.‡ Munk§ says of these experiments: "Andral treated 130-140 patients according to homœopathic principles, and in the presence of homœopaths, but without any result."

In 1828 trials were instituted at Naples. The homœopaths|| ascribe the victory to themselves, and date from that time the spread of homœopathy in Italy. The allopaths¶ state that homœopathy was defeated. The result was this: of sixty patients, fifty-two were perfectly cured and six improved—two died. These trials caused great excitement in Naples. The allopaths had spread the report that there were numbers of dead and dying in the homœopathic establishment, so that the King of Naples sent the Crown Prince to make investigations. He found none either dead or dying. He there-

* Governmental decree of 2nd November, 1819, No. 49665. *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. XX., p. 271.

† *L.c.*, p. 196.

‡ For a masterly exposure of Andral's pretended homœopathic experiments, see *Brit. Jour. of Hom.*, Vol. II., p. 119.

§ *L.c.*, p. 53.

|| Rosenberg, *l.c.*; also *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 18; also Vol. XXXIII., p. 310.

¶ Munk, *l.c.*, p. 107.

upon exclaimed : "Then those whom I see here must have risen from the dead."*

Prof. Ronchi, of Naples, accused Hahnemann of being mad,† and in the beginning of the year 1830 the allopaths declared homœopathy in Naples to be dead. As a matter of fact it is spreading there up to the present time.

Further trials were instituted by the homeopaths, Tessier in Paris and Chargé in Marseilles. According to the allopaths, the results were unfavourable, while the homœopaths asserted the contrary with regard to the first. In the case of Chargé the trial related to the homœopathic treatment of cholera in the beginning of 1850. One ward for patients was assigned to him in the Hôtel Dieu in Marseilles, and according to previous agreement, patients were sent to him by the allopaths. The allopathic hospital doctors sent him (as was to be expected) the most hopeless cases.‡ The trial lasted three days. Patients were treated for seventeen days in the Hôtel Dieu at Lyons by a homœopath, Dr. Gueyard (when?) and, according to Munk,§ the result was unfavourable. Nothing on this subject is mentioned in homœopathic literature. In 1835 some cases of itch were treated homœopathically in Stuttgart—fiasco of the homœopaths.

At the time of the cholera in 1831, the Leipzig homœopaths petitioned the town council to hand over to them one of the cholera hospitals which were to be established, in order that they might treat patients gratuitously in it. An answer was given through the municipal physician Clarus, that their petition would be granted under the following conditions :—"The patients to be received shall be examined by Clarus before admission, and the entrance certificate be signed by him. The homœopathic medicines are to be taken from an ordinary apothecary's shop." The homœopaths replied that Clarus and other allopaths were free to visit the hospital at any time, but that the question

* *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. XXXIII., p. 305.

† Kleinert, *Repertorium der ges. med. J.*, 1833, VII., 141.

‡ *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, LI., p. 63.

§ *L.c.*, p. 108.

of the admission of patients ought not to lie with Clarus (who was known as a fanatical opponent), because otherwise no patient would be admitted into the hospital unless he were half dead. The medicines should be prepared and administered under proper control, but they could not agree to the dispensing of the medicines by the apothecaries. The town council, influenced by Clarus, would not consent to this.*

The homœopathic physician, Dr. Stern, practised in Miskoltz, in Hungary. He had previously written a pamphlet against homœopathy,† but owing to a peculiar coincidence of circumstances, Saul had become a Paul. There are many examples of similar conversions in the history of homœopathy. He wanted now to prove publicly that the results of allopathy were excelled by those of the new method, and applied to the vice-president of the province for permission to treat gratuitously for one year in a special locality the numerous prisoners. This was granted, and the prisoners were allowed to choose whether they would be treated homœopathically or allopathically. A lively agitation against this both by word of mouth and by means of the press, on the part of the adherents of the old school, was the result, but the desired effect was not produced. Homœopathy was delusion, quackery, &c., and a Dr. Fleischer complained of the ingratitude shown, after the many years' services of the allopathic doctors. But the permission was maintained. The homœopath began his labours in 1844; the fatal results prophesied did not occur, and at the end of the year, out of 99 patients, not only had none died, but the cures effected had been more rapid than had ever been observed under allopathic treatment. Besides various external chronic maladies, gastric and other fevers, inflammation of the lungs and pleura constituted a large proportion of the diseases treated. The agitation of the allopaths grew; they called meetings and

* The documents alluded to will be found in *Cholera, Homœopathik u. Medicinalbehörde*, by the Leipzig Homœopathic Society, Leipzig, 1831.

† *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. LVI., p. 159.

councils, for this horrible homœopath had dared to propose a continuance of his treatment. At last, after three months, his opponents gained their object, and a command was issued from the royal Government to put an end to the further homœopathic treatment of the prisoners, because the hospital had been established without the permission of the Government, and, therefore illegally, and because the homœopathic method—"from its very nature"—was not suited for many kinds of diseases. Any one who would like to have the pleasure of admiring the noble conduct of the allopaths in this contest will be able to do so in the *Allgemeine homœopathische Zeitung*.*

In 1840, two rooms in the Elizabeth Hospital, in Berlin, were given up to a homœopath for homœopathic treatment, from which he withdrew after some time on grounds that had nothing to do with the question of the results of homœopathy.

In consequence of representations on the part of six homœopathic practitioners of Berlin, a ministerial rescript of the 10th September, 1841, was issued to the effect that permission was given for the establishment of a homœopathic hospital with twelve beds for three years at the cost of the State, with the condition that the admission of patients should only take place through a commission named by the Government. The six homœopaths were called upon to propose a suitable physician. The choice fell upon Dr. Melicher. The hospital was never started. Melicher declared at a later date that he himself was chiefly to blame for this, because three years (with twelve beds) was too short a time to decide so important a question, and because, according to all experience, no impartiality could be expected from allopathic judges.†

Why were the allopathic advisers so anxious that admission should take place only through them? Why did it not suffice that they should always have free access to the wards of the hospital?

* Vol. XXIX., p. 97.

† *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. XXXIII., p. 179.

These are the trials of homœopathy at the sick bed, of which its opponents assert that the results were more unfavourable than under allopathic treatment, and that the impotence of homœopathy was fully proved by them. Considering the hostile disposition prevailing, we might have expected that the allopaths would never admit the superiority of homœopathy over the old privileged system "resting on the experience of centuries."

"Homœopathy was not able to assert its preponderance over other methods in the case of cholera," the anonymous writer of the *Wonders of Homœopathy* declares in 1833 (p. 47).

Simon writes in 1834:—"The new method of treatment furnished no more favourable results in Russia than the old."

In No. 11 of the *Beobachtungen bair. Aerzte iiber die Cholera*, 1832, Dr. W. Sander declares "that homœopathy had obtained worse results than the treatment by bleeding and emetics."

Prof. Hasper, the great advocate of "energetic bleedings" in cholera, states in 1832:—"Those cases in which the homœopathic method was used proved most rapidly fatal."†

Other critics, like Stieglitz, &c., expressed themselves thus:—"The results of the homœopathic method were precisely the same as those of dietetic treatment." But as the same critics declared the methods of bleeding, &c., to be more beneficial than the dietetic method, the judgment was really this:—Allopathy has obtained more favourable results than homœopathy in the treatment of pneumonia, pleurisy, measles, scarlet fever, gastric fevers, typhus, dysentery, cholera, &c.

Since the blood-thirst of the allopaths and their partiality for emetics and purgatives has abated, no State trials of homœopathic treatment have been undertaken. Now-a-days, even the allopaths would own that the then

* *Antihom. Archiv*, I., p. 19.

† *Hufeland's Journ.*, Vol. LXXIII., St. 4, p. 113.

“rational” treatment yielded worse results than unassisted nature. Let us put on one side all conclusions as to the positive results of homœopathy. What follows from these facts?

The statement of the allopaths that homœopathy was unsuccessful in these trials and obtained no more favourable results than allopathic treatment is manifestly untrue. Allopathy has shown itself an extremely partial judge in this matter, and its judgment is therefore valueless in matters relating to homœopathy. Again, in numerous passages the allopaths have expressed the self-evident opinion that to judge of a method of treatment in one single disease, several hundred cases are insufficient. In order to judge of homœopathy, some hundred cases of more than a hundred different kinds of diseases sufficed to make the desirable fact clear that homœopathy was ineffective. What says Dr. Fischer, of Dresden?* “When we read an account of homœopathic successes, we always wish that it may not be true.” This characterises the allopathic mode of looking at things up to the present day.

A very characteristic light is thrown on the tactics of the allopaths in a pamphlet by an Englishman, Dr. Horner, entitled, *Reasons for Adopting the Rational System of Medicine*. He had previously been president of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association at Brighton, consisting of several hundred members. In a meeting over which he presided a resolution was passed, that henceforth no homœopath was worthy of belonging to this great association. Six years later Horner, from an opponent, had become an adherent of homœopathy. He had only made himself practically acquainted with homœopathy after that resolution had been passed. Gradually he was convinced, by striking proofs, of the superiority of the system, and was the first to suffer from this resolution of the Association. Horner was the oldest physician of the Hull hospital, and he held it as his duty to treat his hospital patients homœopathically. He was forced to give up his position. This

* *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

event caused a great commotion, and 90,000 copies of his pamphlet were spread through England in a few months.

In this pamphlet Dr. Horner gives an account of the manner in which the statistics of the homœopathic treatment of the cholera at the London Homœopathic Hospital in 1854 were buried by the commission of allopathic medical men appointed by Government to inquire into the results of the different modes of treatment pursued in the London Hospitals, the London Homœopathic Hospital being one of those specially set aside for cholera patients, and put under the supervision of an allopathic inspector, who testified to the severity of the cases received and the excellent results obtained, which were very much superior to those obtained under allopathic treatment in any other hospital in London.*

The historian Leupoldt, who was certainly not favourable to homœopathy, wrote very sensibly in the year 1863 : "What is still required is to enter more fully and more positively into the question of homœopathy, and at first less theoretically than experimentally." This respected historian admits, also, that homœopathy had not been sufficiently tested on the only decisive ground, that of practical observation, up to the year 1863. But after 1863 no practical trials were undertaken.†

Recent Attacks.

All the more zealously were all possible means resorted to in order to represent homœopathy as the work of a cunning impostor—a "so-called method of treatment" des-

* A more detailed account of this iniquitous transaction will be found at p. 248, note.

† What feelings and views the opponents have respecting homœopathy is well shown by an incident that lately took place in England. Major Vaughan Morgan offered St. George's Hospital in London a sum of £5000 if a ward in the hospital should be devoted for five years to the homœopathic treatment of patients, in order to make a fair trial of the efficacy or otherwise of the system of Hahnemann. The offer was refused, and Morgan repeated his offer to other hospitals, with the like result.—*Allg. hom. Ztg.*, Vol. CVII., p. III.

titute of all solidity—as an exaggerated mysticism to be placed in the same category as cures by sympathy and moonshine. The combatants of 1830 had laid the foundations for this. During the first decades, Hahnemann's services of former times were still recognised and remembered with gratitude. A work which, like those of the present day, had treated Hahnemann's labours with scorn, would then have appeared to every reader to bear the stamp of unbridled party hatred. Gradually the effects of the *calumniare audacter* began to work on the general public, the memory of the former services of the founder of homœopathy was effaced, and the road was left clear. In the colleges and in medical writings nothing but scorn and ridicule was poured on him; while young medical men were systematically imbued with the strongest repugnance to homœopathy.

The political and literary papers naturally sided with the majority. Here was a welcome and undisturbed arena for the activity of the allopaths; there was no fear of rejoinders nor of the refutation of the wildest assertions; for, with but few unimportant exceptions, all these organs refused to insert any correction of the most downright falsehoods, even the setting right of historical perversions and the simple rectification of facts. The *Gartenlaube* distinguished itself most in this line.

Any doctor who expressed a favourable opinion of homœopathy was at once looked on as a heretic; anyone who practised it was a pariah, was expelled from professional association, and persecuted with relentless hatred. It made no difference whether he had formerly given ample evidence of earnest endeavours after truth or whether his character was blameless—he was a heretic, and as such he was branded and under a moral ban. Why? Because his scientific views differed from those of the allopaths. The same is the case to-day. Men in distinguished positions who dared to defend publicly what they recognised as truth, were persecuted in every possible way. If its opponents were so firmly convinced of the folly of homœopathy, publicity was the best weapon with which to combat

it. Imposture shuns the light. If homœopathy was to be honourably attacked, if the allopaths felt themselves firm in the saddle, why should a man who defended it publicly be tabooed? W. Rapp, Professor of Clinical Medicine in Tübingen, at the melancholy period of universal therapeutic decay—at the time of prevalent nihilism—began to study the works of those men who did not despair of medical art or exclaim with Professor Dietl: “In knowledge, not in action, lies our power,” but who, like Hahnemann, held firm to the conviction, “There *is* an art of healing.”

Rapp found the heretic Hahnemann had brought into the light of day much that was good and useful, though occasionally in a rather crude form, and he was man enough to assert publicly his convictions. The results might have been anticipated. The Ministry was soon induced to order him to abandon clinical instruction and to content himself with lecturing on theoretical subjects; but, on the other hand, they did not omit to express a high opinion of Rapp’s “excellent qualities in all other particulars, and his scientific zeal.” Rapp, under these circumstances, sent in his resignation (1854), and was transferred to Rottweil as chief medical officer, with a suitable pension, his title and rank being left him. The number of Rapp’s auditors was greater than that of his predecessor, Wunderlich. The latter had, in the last six terms, 99 students attending his theoretical lectures; Rapp in the same length of time (from the summer of 1851 to the winter of 1854) had 145 scholars. Wunderlich’s clinical instruction was attended during that period by 191, Rapp’s by 228 students. Rapp is now physician in ordinary to the King of Wirtemberg.

A few years before, Professor Henderson, who had won for himself a great name in the scientific world, and who was listened to by a numerous audience, was forced to resign his clinical professorship in the Edinburgh University for the same reason. Altogether, the contest was carried on in Great Britain with great bitterness on the part of the allopaths. In 1851 the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, as well as the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, determined not to confer the degree of doctor

on any candidate who did not pledge himself solemnly never, during his whole life, to practise homœopathy. Every allopathic medical man was turned out of the medical societies who dared to consult with a homœopath, and this practice was carried out with great strictness.*

The same course was pursued in France† and the other "civilised" countries. Similar attacks were everywhere repeated, and their violence was in proportion to the degree in which homœopathy had spread—just as in Germany.

So the allopaths did, and still do their work both by word of mouth and by writing. In order to judge of their present mode of combating homœopathy, I shall here give an account of the works of some living combatants.

The Wonders of Homœopathy expounded to all friends of truth and especially to the governments, by one who knows them, Prof. Dr. Karsch of Münster; Sondershausen, 1862. Karsch states and proves to his readers the following: Hahnemann had some knowledge, but he was unable to earn a livelihood for himself and his family; in despair he gave himself up to charlatany and founded homœopathy, in which he himself did not believe. Karsch proves this thus: Hahnemann and the homœopaths say that Hahnemann departed from the ordinary course since 1790. Karsch relates some cases in which Hahnemann ordered strong doses after 1790, and gave utterance occasionally to traditional views. "Therefore" Hahnemann was himself not convinced of his homœopathic principles—"they were all fables," "wretched lies," "swagger," &c. It was the same with the psora—the theory of which was propounded by Hahnemann contrary to his own convictions.

The whole system of homœopathy was thus the product of a cunning charlatan, driven to despair by want—promulgated against his better knowledge, and only with the object of enriching himself at the expense of foolish mankind. The homœopathic doctors had the same object.

* See *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, Vol. LIV., p. 80, and Vol. LXV., p. 32.

† *Ib.*, Vol. XLIII., p. 140, and Vol. XLVI., p. 364.

Karsch had set himself a difficult task. To read Hahnemann's writings—to witness his earnestness, his industry in working and in observing, and then to assert and try to prove from these very writings, that he himself was not persuaded of the truth of his teaching—required truly, besides other qualities, a degree of effrontery at which one cannot fail to be astonished. If we were to follow the author sentence by sentence, and examine his work, the most patient reader might well lose patience. Here are some few specimens of Karsch's style :—

He speaks (p. 66) of Hahnemann's attack on the doctors of the Emperor Leopold (compare above p. 88) and states that Hahnemann had no sufficient knowledge of their treatment, and in spite of this had attacked it; "he, who properly speaking, had hardly ever treated a patient himself."* Karsch very prudently keeps silence as to the four bleedings—which, in the Emperor's weak state, was just the essential point, and preferred to confine himself to praising the imperial doctors as "highly esteemed and distinguished practitioners." He also mentions Dr. Stöller—but calls him Stölter. Curiously enough he is also called Stölter in the *Wonders of Homœopathy* of 1833, p. 5. Karsch does not here mention the source, but is well acquainted with the book, and has even borrowed the title. But that work lays stress on the bleeding; bleeding was then still scientific, and its rejection a great fault of Hahnemann's, which in itself sufficed to lower him in the eyes of readers, so that it was not necessary first to call the Emperor's doctors "distinguished and highly-esteemed practitioners." Karsch could not disparage Hahnemann on the ground of his blaming the bleeding; he had to act differently, so he preferred to call those doctors "distinguished" practitioners, but would have been filled with horror if they had appeared four times at his bedside with the bandage and lancet for bleeding.

PAGES 60, 61 :—The author shows the same skill in mentioning the case of Leischke (comp. above p. 225), of whom he states that under homœopathic treatment he lost his life

* See above, p. 74, 75, and p. 153.

"by neglect of proper treatment." As this neglected treatment which the allopaths thought ought to have been had recourse to in the case of a patient suffering from chronic lung disease consisted in bleeding, &c., it could not be mentioned, and would not have suited his purpose, so Karsch says nothing about it.

Hahnemann wrote in a letter to Hufeland that at one time, about 1790, he despaired of the medical art, and nearly gave up its practice. Karsch mentions this and says, p. 43: "This is contradicted by a statement of Hahnemann's which he made after he professed to have despaired of medicine," and he quotes the passage from Hahnemann's *Alte Schäden*, &c., in which the latter speaks of the favourable results he had obtained, and boasts of them. This was in 1784. Karsch, however, ascribes this work to the year 1794. Only by this means could he use Hahnemann's statement for his own purposes. Now Karsch had this treatise in his hands, for he quotes it verbatim, and gives reference to the page. Hahnemann, in this work, is speaking of a limited class of diseases, and not of the medical art in general. After Karsch has performed this feat, he exclaims on the ground of this proof of Hahnemann's mendacity: "Oh ! you potentising homœopaths ! What in reality is there in your potencies ? Where is your scrupulous conscientiousness, your vaunted modesty ? Where is the proof of your bold assertions ?"

In such a mode of conducting a controversy, it is hardly necessary to mention that Karsch gives a very unfavourable opinion of the work, and (p. 42) calls it "quite worthless" (comp. Professor Baldinger's opinion, above, p. 64). He speaks thus of Hahnemann's work on Arsenic (p. 24). "Hahnemann also wrote a work on arsenical poisoning, in which he strongly recommends what had already been suggested as an antidote by Navier (*Antidotes to Arsenic*, Greifswald, 1782, p. 65), viz., soapsuds—a pound of soap rubbed and beaten up with four pounds of boiling water, boiled for two minutes, and taken by cupfuls within two hours." This is all Karsch says about this work. He directs the attention of the reader to the soapsuds, describes

in detail its preparation by beating it up and boiling, &c., as if this were the chief contents of the work. He does not make a single allusion to the principal subject on which the whole work turns. He does not omit to ascribe even the soap to another ; he names Navier, and indicates the passage where the latter speaks of the soap, as if he, Karsch had discovered this, though Hahnemann had already given the source Karsch quotes (*Arsenikvergiftung*, p. 98), and has certainly made no attempt to pass off as his own Navier's recommendation of soap as an antidote.

Karsch has recourse to a similar manœuvre with regard to merc. solub., p. 26. He mentions that an oxide of mercury had been known before Hahnemann, and quotes two authors in proof of this as against Hahnemann. But Hahnemann himself quotes these two authors ; but this Karsch does not mention. He does indeed own, when appealed to by a homœopath, that Hahnemann was a man full of information and an excellent chemist, but he represents his labours in such a distorted light—in some respects, indeed quite incorrectly—and abridges them in such a way that the reader gets quite a false idea of Hahnemann's merits. In the same manner he either does not or will not understand the value of his "wine test."

Karsch proves with his wonted dexterity that Hahnemann administered mixtures contrary to his own doctrines. As is known, Hahnemann treated the lunatic Klockenbring in 1792. He relates incidentally that, to his great surprise, the lunatic wrote out a prescription for mania, and that in the most suitable form and in proper dose ; it begins Rx Sem. Daturæ, gran. ii. "What a pity," exclaims Karsch, "that we do not know the other valuable ingredients." In this manner, from this remark of Hahnemann's on the prescription of a madman, a proof is furnished that Hahnemann, contrary to his principles, administered mixtures, and that his treatment of this case could not have been homœopathic. Nothing is proved by the madman's prescription. Hahnemann does not say that he himself gave the prescription. That the treatment of Klockenbring was not homœopathic, is made clear from

the 25 grains of tartar emetic which Hahnemann gave him. If a homœopath should allege that this treatment was homœopathic, he would only show his ignorance of the history of homœopathy, nothing more.

Then follows the second and last proof of Hahnemann's practice of giving mixtures of drugs. In 1797 he, according to the *Biographisches Denkmal*, translated anonymously the *System of Veterinary Medicine* of an Englishman, Taplin. Karsch describes the introductory remarks, which treat of "new improvements" and old and faulty methods of treatment. In the book itself there are some long prescriptions. Karsch thereupon exclaims: "How could Hahnemann publicly laud such a thoroughly unhomœopathic work, containing such composite prescriptions, as a new method of treatment? He was no homœopath!" This sounds well, but Karsch omits to add that the introductory remarks are not by Hahnemann, but by Taplin—that Hahnemann, therefore, commends nothing in the whole book, does not make even a single note, but simply translates. It is by such devices that Karsch proves that Hahnemann's opposition to the mixing of drugs was contrary both to his conviction and his practice.

Further on Karsch thus instructs his readers: "When homœopaths represent the great Hufeland as an admirer of Hahnemann, they forget to remark that Hufeland published a special treatise in 1831, called *Homœopathy*, Berlin, Reimer, 8, 44 p., in which he expresses his opinion that the new in it is not good, the good is not new, and that it must be looked upon as the grave of science." This exhausts Karsch's criticism of this book. With this compare above p. 192, 196, or, still better, read Hufeland's own pamphlet,* in order to learn the allopathic mode of conducting the controversy.

In describing Hahnemann's character, we saw how beautiful his idea of family life was, and what love he felt for his wife and his children. Of the former he always speaks with respect and veneration, although Brunnow alludes to her imperious ways. If Hahnemann, in spite of this, thought

* Translated in *Brit. Journ. of Hom.*, Vol. XVI., p. 177.

always of her with love, it proves his noble character, and is in itself worthy of praise. Karsch makes an attempt to disparage his adversary by sneering at his wife. Referring to Brunnow's remarks he says, p. 108:—

A change in the character of Frau Hahnemann might have been brought about by their improved circumstances. Upstarts often become vain, proud and arrogant. Hahnemann himself speaks with the greatest respect of his wife. In his autobiography, composed at Leipzig in 1791, he says:—"Four daughters and a son, together with my wife, form the spice of my life." Mustard and cayenne pepper are certainly spices !

These are the characteristics of a man who is called upon to give advice to the State in the matter of homœopathy, as well as in other things, and to assist in the education of youth.

In the year 1876, Prof. Jürgensen, of Tübingen, came to the front.* He begins thus:—

Knowledge is power, it is no longer necessary to tremble on approaching the sick bed during the last decades the art of medicine has borne fruit under the light of science.

In 1826—exactly fifty years previously—Mückisch, also a physician of a large hospital, wrote thus:—

The sublime science of medicine has, during the 19th century, reached a degree of perfection which enables it to protect the life of generations, and save them from premature death by the innumerable kinds of diseases.

And Mückisch bled copiously, even in the case of children, and used emetics and purgatives as if it was a question of sweeping a chimney.

Jürgensen gives quinine in cases of inflammation of the lungs to the amount of $1\frac{1}{4}$ drachms and more, and chloral hydrate to the extent of 2 drachms ; he even threatens to increase the dose of quinine if the fever is obstinate. And yet observations are recorded in allopathic literature which show that from a few scruples of quinine, blindness and deafness and destructive processes in the cavity of the

* *Die wissenschaftliche Heilkunde u. ihre Widersacher. Sammlung klin. Vorträge*, No. 106, pp. 879—916.

drum of the ear and in the labyrinth, and that even from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ drachms of chloral hydrate, great danger to life, were "the fruit of medicine in the light of science."

"The course of the development of therapeutics gives sure signs that much will be obtainable by our grandsons that was denied to us." It is to be feared that our grandsons will reject Jürgensen's legacy in the same way that they have already partially rejected that of Mückisch.

"If the doctor has to be told what homœopathy is," says Jürgensen, "if he knows nothing more than that it consists in giving infinitely small doses, he will hardly be a match for those laymen who are acquainted with Hahnemann's system. This is not the place to say what would be the consequence. A doctor's reputation will certainly not be increased by such ignorance, nor will his position be better assured." In order to remedy this evil, Jürgensen gives necessary instruction on the subject. According to him, homœopathy has done nothing either for the development of medicine or for its practice—it is sheer nonsense. It has done no good, it does no good, and will never do anything for the advantage of science. Its destination is to be uprooted like thistles from the field of science.

In order to enliven his readers, he quotes certain passages from Hahnemann which appear to him peculiarly harsh, and exclaims: "Now, I ask, is it possible to live under the same roof with these people? Oh no! science does not permit it."

As the allopaths find a peculiar pleasure in refuting certain absurdities and theories of Hahnemann by the aid of our present knowledge, we must repeat that Hahnemann considered his theoretical explanations of no importance for his therapeutic rule. He says: "I can only vouch for the *what*, not for the *how*." Hahnemann's earliest adherents did not accept these errors and these theories. Thus C. Hering writes: "I am universally regarded as a disciple and an adherent of Hahnemann, and I am willing to declare that I belong to those who adhere to him most

* *Archiv f. d. hom. Heilkunde*, Vol. XVI., H. 3, p. 92.

faithfully and pay the most enthusiastic homage to his greatness, but I affirm also that from the time of my first acquaintance with homœopathy (1821) up to the present day (1837) I have never accepted a single one of the theories in the *Organon* as they are there given."

Jürgensen has been set right from various quarters, by Huber* among others. We mention the following in order to show the characteristics of the allopathic strategy. J. uses certain expressions of a homœopathic non-professional in order to blacken homœopathy, without adding that the homœopathic doctors themselves most strongly object to such conceptions of a doctor's knowledge.

Jürgensen informs his friends of the following "truth." "It has been laid to Hahnemann's credit that he first drew attention to the necessity of testing the effects of medicines on healthy subjects; according to his own statement this honour belonged to Albrecht von Haller."

What ignorance or distortion of facts is contained in this sentence! This one sentence gives a sufficient answer to the question: What objects had Jürgensen in view in this article? Were they honourable or worthy ones?

The so-called *isopathy* originated fifty years ago; the majority of homœopaths never occupied themselves with it. Only a voice here and there was raised in its favour. They pointed to cow-pox inoculation, which was introduced and generally practised by allopaths, as an illustration of isopathic treatment.

Jürgensen naturally represents this "isopathy" in a most unfavourable light, and adds that it had been "recently" introduced. This word "recently" shows the object which this treatise was intended to serve. For forty years the few homœopathic doctors, who at first defended "isopathy," have been silent on the subject.

Such accusations are "simple descriptions derived from the authentic sources"—so Jürgensen wishes his readers to believe.†

* *Audiatur et altera pars*, Vienna, 1877.

† *L. c.*, p. 880.

A single allopathic doctor practises in his vaccinations, more isopathy than all the homœopathic doctors put together during the last fifty years, that is to say since "isopathy" was first introduced.

Jürgensen proves from the report of the Homœopathic Hospital at Pesth that the results of homœopathy show no therapeutic advantages, but he omits the results of the treatment of typhus fever fully given in this report. This shows the results were very different from what they are represented to be by Jürgensen.

In his *Treatment of Pneumonia*,* 400 cases of pneumonia are not enough for him to determine the suitable therapeutics of it, and here 306 cases of pneumonia, 68 of typhus, &c., suffice to enable him to judge of the power of homœopathic treatment.

Jürgensen skims through the *Organon*, and finds near its end a few casual remarks on mesmerism, by Hahnemann. Charming! Something can be made of this! Let us hang the mantle of animal magnetism on Hahnemann's shoulders. Let us represent mesmerism to be a gross imposture! Now we have settled the mystic Hahnemann!

However good Herr Jürgensen's intentions may have been, and however much he may deserve the praise accorded him by the allopaths, he is very unfortunate on this point. In 1876, mesmerism was still mysticism, nonsense, idiotcy, and the like. Jürgensen could therefore still say emphatically, "The laws of nature do not apply to the magnetic condition." A year before Virchow† called it "a false doctrine." Three years later the Danish "Magnetiser" Hansen hit upon the unfortunate idea of making a professional tour through Germany. German medical professors took to imitating the magnetic arts, and what was worse, they obtained successful results, wrote many books on the subject, and recommended magnetism in the medical journals as a remedy; and what was worst of all, the reality of mesmerism was fully recognised at the first Medical Con-

* *Sammlung klin. Vorträge v. Volkmann*, No 45, p. 345.

† *Heilkräfte des Organismus*, p. 10.

gress at Wiesbaden, without encountering any opposition, and its therapeutic value was discussed—and Jürgensen was present, and listened and—kept silence. Jürgensen could not know that while he was attacking Hahnemann's mesmerism, Hansen was packing his portmanteau.

But, putting the surprising successes obtained by Hansen on one side, there was hardly a doctor in Hahnemann's time who has written so many medical works as he, who so seldom alluded to the curative powers of mesmerism as Hahnemann did. Hahnemann seldom prescribed its use, and that he himself practised it has not been proved, and is very unlikely. But yet mesmerism was *scientific* in Hahnemann's time, notwithstanding the absurdities connected with it. Several periodicals devoted to animal magnetism, were published, *e.g.*, the *Magnetisches Magazin für Niederdeutschland*, Bremen, 1787 and 1788 (not unfavourably reviewed in the *Medicin. Journal*, by Professor Baldinger), then the *Archiv für Magnetismus und Somnambulismus*, by Hofrath Prof. Böckmann of Carlsruhe; Strasburg, 1787 and 1788. Professors Eschenmayer, Kieser and Nasse issued the *Archiv für thier. Magnetismus*, Leipzig, 1817—1824; and Professor Wolfart of the Berlin Faculty, edited the *Jahrbücher für den Lebensmagnetismus*, Leipzig, 1818—1822. Alex. v. Humboldt wrote:—"I would here remind you of the possibility of the so-called magnetic cures, in which the mere approach of the hand produces warmth and stimulation of the exposed parts of the body.....It is certainly easier to deny facts than to investigate them or to refute them by counter-experiments." Lichtenstädt, Treviranus, G. H. Schubert, Nees v. Esenbeck, Olbers, Ennemoser and others recognised the existence of these inexplicable phenomena. In the medical journals of 1785—1835, there are numerous articles on the "excellent effect of animal magnetism," in "violent convulsive diseases," in "hardness of hearing," in "mental diseases," and of "the disastrous results of its misuse," which were also admitted at Wiesbaden in 1882.

* *Versuche über die gereizte Muskelfaser*, Posen and Berlin, 1797, Vol. I., p. 225.

Professor Puchelt expressed himself thus, in the year 1819, on the subject of animal magnetism :—*

Now that the Mesmer-Wolfart magnetic medicine [Wolfart was sent by the Prussian Government to Mesmer in order to form at the actual source a judgment on the subject in question] is kept within bounds by Kieser's School of Magnetism, and since the employment of magnetism has been confined to particular cases both by Kieser and by the majority of doctors who attribute any importance to magnetism at all, and among these we must reckon all who are not entirely blinded to natural phenomena by the dust of book learning, and who have not, owing to their exclusive chemical labours, lost all interest in the manifestations of life, and as such views point to a connexion of magnetic medicine with scientific medicine, we shall say no more about it here.

In Austria the use of magnetism was forbidden.† In Berlin magnetism was included in the course of study of the university. Prof. Wolfart gave lectures “On mesmerism and the curative indications of animal-magnetism.”‡ Prof. Ph. v. Walter even raised animal magnetism to a principle of the *materia medica*, and held that the efficacy of all medicines depended on an animal-magnetic action. “The art of healing is a continual magnetic process,” he writes. “In this consists the magic of the healing art and the hidden power of drugs. A relation must exist between the doctor and his patient of the same kind as that which is efficacious in animal-magnetism.”§

In 1834 Hufeland, that “honest seeker after truth,” pronounced his final judgment on mesmerism,|| and mentioned that the French government called upon the Medical Faculty in Paris, in 1780, to pronounce upon the question of magnetism, and that they rejected it as a deception. In 1831 a report of this same Faculty appeared which was favourable to magnetism, and thus maintained the exact contrary to what the scientific men had previously done.

* Hufeland's *Journ.*, 1819, Vol. XLIX., St. 6, p. 10.

† Horn's *Archiv f. med. Erfahrungen*, 1808, p. 1021.

‡ Hufeland's *Journ.*, 1819, St. 1, p. 118.

§ *Ephemeriden der Heilkunde*, von Adalb. Fr. Markus, Bamberg and Würzburg, 1812, Vol. IV., H. 3, p. 173.

|| Hufeland's *Journ.*, Vol. LXXIX., St. 1, p. 44.

Hufeland relates that in 1784 he opposed it out of ignorance. For fifty years he had closely investigated the subject, and had arrived at the following conclusions:—

(1.) Magnetism is a fact. (2.) The magnetic state can be produced at will on suitable subjects by the influence of another living individual. (3.) Certain morbid affections depending on the nervous system can be cured by such magnetic influence.

He adds, in conclusion:—

I shall never forget what Goethe once said to me on this subject:—
“I have never occupied myself with magnetism; it contains too many mouse-holes and mouse-traps.”

It is said to have been Kant who first ranked the supporters of magnetism in the category of impostors, and this was also done by Pfaff, of Kiel. Rudolphi, the Berlin physiologist, had “the courage,” as the allopaths of his time assure us, to denominate the so-called animal-magnetism an imposture, and since that time this “courage” became scientific, and Jürgensen naturally displayed it.

Even a superficial examination of German homœopathic literature would have shown Jürgensen that mesmerism occupied a much smaller space in it—both relatively and absolutely—than in allopathic writings. We, of course, allude to medical literature only. The homœopathic doctor mentioned by Jürgensen, B. Hirschel, in 1840, publicly opposed the abuses of magnetism. Schmidt's *Jahrbücher** contains the following remarks on his work:—

The author is animated by the scientific spirit; he possesses the critical faculty, scientific knowledge, thoughtfulness, and love of truth. He opposes folly. We give him the most friendly welcome.

That Hahnemann, in 1796, first introduced his special mode of treatment to medical circles that he wrote his two other works on the subject for medical men, and addressed his *Organon*, as is especially shown in the first edition, to the profession only, is well known, and is proved by the circumstance that this work was reviewed in medical journals exclusively.

The controversial Jürgensen, however, makes this statement: “Hahnemann, from the beginning, did not appeal

* Vol. XXXII., p. 375.

to the medical profession only." This assertion certainly better serves the object of his article.

He then continues with regard to non-professionals:—

A high degree of culture is necessary to enable a person to acknowledge his incapacity to express an opinion where the expert says it is his duty to do so. Most people are not capable of such self-knowledge and self-control.

One great hindrance to the reception of homœopathy was its rejection of bleeding. Many of the lay public whose attention had been called by Hahnemann to its injurious consequences, became convinced of the hurtful character of this practice, and kept the doctors who practised it at a distance, while the representatives of science were still insisting on the necessity of blood-letting in "inflammatory" and other diseases. According to Jürgensen these non-professionals ought to have possessed enough "self-control" to submit tamely to allow their blood to be scientifically shed by the professionals.

In another place, Jürgensen expressly says that in cases of pneumonia, bleeding ought not to be resorted to in order to allay fever, and that such a proceeding would be the "act of a weak man whom fate had made a doctor for the punishment of his fellow-creatures."* According to Jürgensen, then, the allopathic professors and doctors of Hahnemann's and of more recent times, were men whom fate had made doctors for the punishment of their fellow-creatures, and the lay public of that period ought to have possessed enough "self-control" to have resigned themselves unhesitatingly to the judgment of these instruments of an evil fate. The majority showed this "self-control" even to their own destruction, and it is these whom Jürgensen commends, patients such as he himself desires, who sacrifice their own opinions on the altar of "science."

Jürgensen is favourable to hydropathic treatment. The lay public appears to have played no passive part in the development of this treatment. The hydropathic system was not thought much of when the non-medical Pro-

* Volkmann's *Sammlung kl. Vortr.*, No. 45, p. 336.

fessor Oertel, of Ansbach, in the *Allgemein. Anzeig. d. Deutschen*, in 1826,* declared himself strongly in favour of it, and from that time onwards for many years he continued to call the attention of suffering mankind to "the benefits to be derived from the use of God's gift—cold water." What medical journal of that time did so much for the spread of the water-cure as this periodical, edited by a non-professional? Both friend and foe used its columns to ventilate their opinions, and allopathic doctors were not wanting who warned the public of the dangers attending water-treatment, *e.g.*, in haemorrhoids and gout, since inflammation of the brain and phthisis were likely to ensue from its employment.† Oertel was undaunted, he answered every attack, and won many laymen over to his treatment, and they were indefatigable in publishing its results, whether favourable or unfavourable. By this means a wholesome pressure was brought to bear on the doctors. Oertel, indeed, gave his opinions pretty freely about "medical men," but always kept within parliamentary bounds. Of his treatises, he recommended among others, *Newest Water Treatment, with Musical Accompaniment*. Nürnberg, Campe. He led his readers, not by force, but gently on the wings of music into the kingdom of the water nymphs. He certainly worked too much in one groove, and shared the fate of most doctors who, from seeing that a certain remedy has good effects in some cases, immediately proceed to generalise and employ it for a great number of diseases.

Oertel naturally recommended cold water as a remedy for the approaching cholera, and at a later period exclaimed, "Victoria! cold water has conquered the cholera!" Certainly he did obtain better results than the allopaths.

In 1830, among others, a doctor calls attention in the *Allgem. Anz. d. Deut.*‡ to the danger from the approaching cholera. He recalls the circumstance that hospital fever had only been checked when Professor Markus introduced

* See Nos. 287 and 289.

† See 1830, No. 63, p. 801, and many other places.

‡ No. 314, p. 4203.

bleeding as a prophylactic for it; the same means ought to be used to protect against cholera. It is difficult to say how many laymen followed this professional advice with the needful "self-knowledge." It can, however, be proved that Oertel, who advocated the use of water instead of bleeding, had great influence. This layman spread the knowledge of the hydropathic treatment through the widest circles by his knowledge, energy and perseverance, at a time when few doctors employed this treatment. Oertel himself willingly admits that the merit of having placed the hydropathic treatment on a scientific basis belongs to Dr. I. S. Hahn, of Schweidnitz* (died 1773), and published a fifth edition of his work,† of which four editions had been issued during the author's life‡—the first in 1738. With the exception of this physician (whose father and brother had also rendered considerable services), Oertel claims the merit of having up to that time been most successful in his advocacy of the cold water cure. He is right. History contains traces and suggestions of many things which only become common property after the lapse of many centuries. The merit consists in the introduction of the method—and of this merit a large share is due to Oertel. This is the case in a still greater degree with the peasant Priessnitz in Austrian Silesia, who, soon after Oertel, practised the cold water cure with still greater energy. We must ascribe the introduction of hydropathic establishments to Priessnitz, and how this

* *L.c.*, 1832, No. 338, p. 4425, and other places.

† Ilmenau, 1833, and Nürnberg, 1834.

‡ *Unterricht von Krafft und Würckung des frischen Wassers in die Leiber der Menschen*, 4th enlarged edition, Breslau and Leipzig, 1754, 290 pp., with a frontispiece and thirty-five cases "from his own experience and that of two other medici," and a letter "from a foreign divine," in which a number of successful results are related which this clergyman had from the employment of cold water; and also how a medicus, who lived in the same place as the clergyman, opposed him, and warned patients against him, p. 271. In the preface it is mentioned that Dr. Schwerdtner, of Jauer, and Hahn's father supported him energetically, "in spite of all the calumnies and opposition of many prejudiced colleagues and of others who dreaded the injury likely to accrue to the medical profession."

man was persecuted by the profession ! He had not, as Jürgensen says, " the high degree of culture necessary to enable him to admit his own incapacity to express an opinion when the professional says it is his duty to do so."

We should like to hear an answer to the question : " What doctor ever did so much for the introduction of hydropathic treatment as the non-professionals Oertel and Priessnitz ? " Both certainly committed gross mistakes, especially Priessnitz, although " scientific " doctors are not behind them in the harm they have done in other ways.

Jürgensen, indeed, gives quite a different account of the historical development of the hydropathic system.* " Unfortunately this interest was only transitory. People forgot, or wished to forget. This may have been caused by the influence of Priessnitz, Oertel, and other hydropaths." Jürgensen would wish to prove that the Salamanca professors would have discovered America much sooner if Columbus had not stood in their way. In order to avoid misunderstandings we may at once state that we do not wish to defend the indiscriminate use of cold water in fevers as is now common, nor indeed its excessive systematic employment.

What professor, medical counsellor or medical excellency introduced medical gymnastics ? It was the Swedish fencing-master, Ling (1776-1839).

The Turko-Roman and Russian baths did not originate in the universities, but they were introduced by laymen.

The " Female Medical Rubbers " have certainly done, and still do, a good deal of harm, but no one doubts that they have occasionally done more good than many a professor decorated with stars and crosses. That " science " has changed the German word " Streichen " into the French word " Massage," alters facts no more than the word " hypnotism " affects the existence of magnetism, which was likewise kept afloat by laymen.

If all the old doctors had held the same opinions as

* *Klinische Studien über die Behandlung des Abdominaltyphus mittelst des kalten Wassers*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 13.

Jürgensen he would not now possess the universal remedy—quinine ; and mercury, secale, opium, sarsaparilla, ipecacuanha, &c., would not have been introduced at all, or, at any rate, not so soon into the pharmacopœia. Conceit is a bad companion in the region of therapeutics. We shall not be misunderstood.

It is a constant reproach made by his opponents for the last seventy years against Hahnemann and the homœopaths, that they addressed themselves to the lay public. If they had been polite, they ought to have retired modestly when the professors repelled them. Let us put on one side the positive work accomplished by homœopathy, and look only at the question of bleeding. Jürgensen established, in 1872, the injuriousness of venesection as a febrifuge in inflammation of the lungs. Let us suppose that Jürgensen had made and published this discovery in 1772 ; the professors would have repelled him, called him “unscientific,” given him all sorts of names, and repeatedly prosecuted him before the tribunals, because he did not bleed like his accusers. What would Jürgensen have done ? We imagine that he would also have addressed the lay public and called upon them to judge his cause ; for there was no other way open if one had sufficient energy to fight for the good cause.

The author takes so great a pleasure in the “psora,” the “itch-miasm” of Hahnemann, that we cannot help rejoicing along with him ; but at the same time, the question again arises : why did Jürgensen pass over in silence the itch theories then in vogue ? It would not in any case have been superfluous if Jürgensen, by giving an account of the views then prevailing, had given his readers a historical basis by which to judge Hahnemann’s doctrine. It would also have been only fair if he had mentioned that even in the first years after the publication of this theory, no homœopath recognised the itch as such a fundamental malady. If we transport individuals from the time in which they lived, we can prove that Hannibal was a bad general, because he did not attack Rome after the battle of Cannac with 48 pounders. But this is the mode of warfare pursued by the allopaths. Whatever good Hah-

mann accomplished was borrowed from some one else, and whatever errors of the time in which he lived are shared by him, are attributed to him alone, and judged according to the standard of our present knowledge. It gives us an instructive glimpse into the allopathic arsenal if, in contrast to the attack of this professor, we look at what some of Hahnemann's earlier opponents say on the subject of psora.

Wedekind, 1825, *l.c.*, p. 87 : "I can willingly credit Herr Hahnemann that phthisis and asthma may be derived from the itch."

Hufeland, 1831, *Homœopathy* (p. 32) : "The physician at last discovers that a hidden scabies or syphilis lies at the root."

Wonders of Homœopathy, 1833, p. 69 : "It was well known to all medical men that suppressed itch is very frequently followed by chronic diseases, and Hahnemann need not have covered thirteen pages with quotations from old authors in order to prove this, but his avarice drove him to do this in order to increase his honorarium."

Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*, 1834 :* "Did not Autenrieth propound a modified psora theory not long before Hahnemann?"

Lesser, 1835 *l.c.*, p. 334 : "The truth of the matter is that an inveterate and incautiously suppressed itch has at all times caused after-diseases, and not unfrequently death. But this has long been known to every intelligent physician."

Eisenmann, the well-known adherent of the natural historical school, writes in his *Prüfung der Homœopathie*, Erlangen, 1836, p. 24 : "A celebrated German physician stated, long before Hahnemann borrowed the psora theory from him, that very many chronic diseases—but not six-eighths of them, as Hahnemann asserts—are produced by badly treated and suppressed itch."

We saw above that it was asserted in two medical journals that Hahnemann borrowed his system from Hippocrates "all except the psora theory." These journals were edited by professors of high repute. Now Eisenmann comes forward and cruelly deprives Hahnemann of this last shred—psora. Eisenmann was one of the most esteemed allo-

* Vol. I., p. 393.

paths of his time, so that Hahnemann is not only entirely annihilated, but reduced to nothing.

Jürgensen was followed in 1881 by a like-minded colleague called Köppe, who, among other things, confided to his readers that Hahnemann, in 1796, "was hardly known as a physician." He says, on p. 41: "Soon medical men began to occupy themselves with homœopathy," and gives many other equally valuable pieces of information. Köppe surmised with justice that Jürgensen had probably written his treatise on an unlucky day, when he was irritated by the perusal of some homœopathic works which had fallen into his hands, and had observed that a knowledge of the subject was not necessary to constitute him an accepted champion with his brethren of the faith. Häser* declares: "That many of the opponents of homœopathy in this controversy did not disdain to employ the most despicable weapons, such as the notorious Fickel." Köppe makes use of Fickel† in many ways with evident pleasure.

Jürgensen was refuted from two quarters,‡ an honour which must certainly have been the greatest surprise to himself, but which was due to the fact that he received great praise from the allopaths, who did not blame his mode of conducting the controversy in the very least.

Meanwhile Prof. Liebreich, of Berlin, opposed homœopathy publicly in a tone which, for his own sake, he ought not to have adopted. He declared that a combination of folly and wealth formed the mass of the homœopathic clientèle, but probably for the moment forgot the homœopathic dispensary in Berlin, superintended by eight doctors, and which was attended by destitute patients, and in such increasing numbers that the doctors were not able to give advice to all those who sought their help. The journals

* *Geschichte der Medicin*, 1881, II., 802.

† Fickel was an unprincipled rogue who published a number of pretended provings and cures. His cheat was soon detected by the homœopaths.

‡ Sorge, *Zeitsch. des Berliner Vereins hom. Aerzte*, 1881, and Mayntzer, *Die Homœopathie und Allopathie*, Leipzig, 1882.

show that in the period from 1878 to 1883, *i.e.*, in five years 24,000 patients were treated in more than 120,000 consultations.

Our readers can imagine the daily, mean and irritating attacks delivered by the allopaths in their intercourse with the public, at meetings and in political and other papers, &c. We may just mention here that recently in Berlin, dissertations for the doctor's degree were written against homœopathy. When we add that they are dedicated to the professors, the reader will know their contents beforehand. It would be unfair to call the authors to account. No one is responsible for the instruction he has received, and it is a rare exception to find a young doctor free from a blind faith in authorities on leaving the university. Most doctors never escape from the domination of authority.

A Historian as a champion of Allopathy.

If a historian of Häser's reputation lends himself to party purposes it is a striking proof how deeply the opponents of homœopathy were imbued with hatred of it. Häser deals with homœopathy in 11 pages. He says of Hahnemann: "After the conclusion of his studies." What studies? He does not mention any, but, on the contrary, throws doubt on their existence by the following statement:—"The University of Erlangen conferred on him a doctor's degree *in absentia*." This method of belittling Hahnemann is new, and peculiar to this historian. He cites as his authority for Hahnemann's life, *Ein biographisches Denkmal* and Karsch. But Karsch, who is also an eminent man, says nothing about "*absentia*," and we read in the *Biographisches Denkmal*, p. 5, that Hahnemann attended the lectures of four professors in Erlangen, defended his thesis on the 10th of August, 1779, and thereupon received his doctor's degree. This is also related in Karsch's book, quoted by Häser, p. 21.

Häser appears as a most reckless partizan. He demeans

himself, *e.g.*, to attack the second Frau Hahnemann, "who generally appeared in masculine attire, attended lectures on anatomy, &c." This "etc.," in its connexion, can only mean that she was a worthless person, and he implies that it was an immoral act of Hahnemann's to marry her in his 80th year! What were the real circumstances? Mélanie d'Herville-Gohier came in 1834, in her 35th year, from Paris to Cöthen, in order to consult Hahnemann. According to report, she performed this journey in masculine attire, perhaps for the sake of greater security, or for some reason which may interest female gossips, but not a man. She attended lectures on anatomy. Why? She was the daughter of a painter, and herself an artist of unusual talent. There still exists a large portrait in oils of Hahnemann, executed by herself, which, both in conception and execution, shows the artist's hand, and is, in the judgment of men who knew Hahnemann personally, the best portrait of him existing.* Häser does not allude to the fact that Mélanie was an artist, although this is stated in the *Biographisches Denkmal*, which he expressly gives as his authority, and of which he says that "it is distinguished by its efforts to be impartial." But there is still more to be read in this biography. Several letters are given from her and from Hahnemann to the members of his family who remained in Germany. We see from these what a happy domestic life Hahnemann led in Paris; with what affection he thought of his relations in his dear old home, to whom, at this same wife's request, he left his whole fortune, with the exception of a small sum; we read, not without emotion, how she wrote cheerfully to his family: "He is as blooming as a rose, and as merry as a young bird." Again, her husband is full of praise of her faithful care: "You yourselves could not take better care of me." "She will soon write to you herself in German, for she can do anything she wishes to do." The letters of the Parisian homœopaths describe, with satisfaction, the devotion of Hahnemann's wife to the

* An engraving of this portrait may be seen in Dudgeon's translation of the *Organon*.

man who was so highly honoured by all. The book Häuser uses as an authority contains all this and much more, but yet he sees fit to throw imputations on the family life of the founder of homœopathy in a historical work. Surely the private life of any individual ought to be sacred, and above all, where, as in this case, his nearest relations are still alive.

That he contemns Fickel's weapons is certainly, under these circumstances, to be reckoned to his credit. But we cannot be surprised when he writes: "Vanity and the desire of gain were the cause of Hahnemann's course of action." What accuracy of description of homœopathy is to be expected from a man who says such things?

Kurt Sprengel acted on other principles when he wrote his *Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der Heilkunde*, that gigantic work, the product of thirty-six years of unwearyed industry, which is still unfinished. He was guided by the principle professed by Thucydides, "to create a treasure and a possession for all times, and not merely to gain applause in the present time." Kurt Sprengel wished to make Lucian's words his rule: "Remember that you should not write in order to be praised and honoured by your contemporaries, but fix your eye on future ages. Expect from these the reward of your labour, that it may be said of you: He was a man of unfettered intellect, and of courage in speech and in writing, free from flattery or slavish feelings, a man by whom truth was prized beyond everything."

A certain Dr. Johannes Rigler delivered a discourse on homœopathy in October, 1880, before the West Berlin Medical Society. According to him no piece of quackery "is more significant and lamentable" than this system of treatment. The statements of Herr Rigler "met with the complete approbation of all the members present." We will quote some of these statements. "Hahnemann first

promulgated his wonderful system in the *Organon*, published in Dresden in 1810."

With a refinement of cunning, Hahnemann, from the very first, denied the competence of medical men to judge of his system, and appealed to the impartial judgment of the lay public.

We have already seen that exactly the reverse was the case. He published his first exposition of his method in Hufeland's *Journal*; his first drug provings were published in Latin, and in the *Organon* (1st ed., p. 104) he recommends this Latin work to those who wished to test his principles. And on the strength of this falsehood is founded the accusation of Hahnemann's "refined cunning."

The medical profession could do nothing but ignore with silent indignation this disgusting monstrosity.

What is the opinion of the hostile but unimpassioned Krüger-Hansen?—

Hahnemann thereby excited a very bitter opposition; he was placed under an interdict, he would have been imprisoned, banished, or even crucified or burnt, like some wise men of old, if only there had been an inquisition in existence.

Further: "It is strange that the majority of allopaths should have attacked homœopathy so fiercely, and looked upon every homœopath as an enemy."*

The same author writes thus of the homœopathic practitioners:

I have often had occasion to enter into literary relations with the most zealous defenders of his doctrines; and I feel myself bound to state that I have been surprised by the friendly courtesy with which I have been met [Krüger-Hansen attacked homœopathy vehemently, but confined himself to the subject], and I shall always be very grateful to them.†

Rigler continues:—

It is incomprehensible how Hahnemann found it possible to test thus his hundreds of remedies. Besides the manifest absurdity involved, we see here the most palpable and shameless falsehood. And here, as usual, one lie led to another.

* *Die Homœopathie und Allopathie auf der Waage*, Güstrow und Rostock, 1833, p. 11.

† *Heil und Unheilmaximen der Leibwälter*, Quedlenburg und Leipzig, 1840, p. 22.

Sorge points out the absolute falsehood of this statement, by showing that all the medicines proved by Hahnemann and his earliest disciples, during a period of more than forty years, amounted only to ninety-five. Hahnemann only proved a part of these, as he clearly states in his *Fragmenta de Viribus, Materia Medica Pura* and *Chronic Diseases*. Numerous assistants helped him, for a period of twenty-eight years, in proving the other remedies. Neither Hahnemann, nor any of his adherents, ever stated that he had proved hundreds of remedies. Here, then, an absolute untruth is attributed to the founder of homœopathy, and on the ground of this untruth he is accused of "palpable and shameless falsehood." And notice this—all the allopathic doctors present gave their "entire approbation" to Rigler's statements. Chief among them was the Geheimer Ober-Medicinalrath Dr. Bardeleben, Professor and Teacher at the Royal University of Berlin.

Further, the lecturer proceeds to state that Hahnemann used the poisonous toad (*rana bufo*) for medicinal purposes. This, again, is an unmitigated falsehood. Sixteen years after Hahnemann's death, an allopath, Vulpian, first made experiments with the poison of the toad, and it was only after this mentioned in homœopathic periodicals.* After Rigler had given this piece of information to the society which placed implicit reliance on his words, he added the following remarks :—

Unfortunately, the excellent Hahnemann has never revealed why he hit upon the toad and sentenced it to the torture in order that it might be incorporated into the homœopathic *materia medica*. According to a Tyrolese superstition, toads are unfortunate souls who are condemned to wander about the earth in this form and do penance for their sins. It is possible that by the decree of a cruel fate homœopathy came into the world solely to crown the penance of these poor creatures by a fresh martyrdom. Or did Hahnemann accept as literal truth the words of the poet, "the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel in its head." But enough of this folly !

Let us realize the situation. A doctor undertakes to deliver a lecture before an assembly of doctors whose

* *Zeitsch. d. Vereins hom. Aerzte Oesterr.*, 1859, Vol. II., No. 7, and *Allg. hom. Zeitg.*, 1860, Vol. LX., Monatsbl., No. 1 and 2.

president was an appointed teacher at a university. He entitles his lecture: *Against homœopathy and homœopaths and their present position in the State.* In this he is guilty of the most barefaced falsehoods, and this with "the complete assent of all members of the society present." Not a single voice is raised against it; on the contrary, they are so enraptured by this lecture that they determine unanimously, without any opposition whatever, to print it and disseminate it as widely as possible, which was done. When the other allopaths became acquainted with this curious lecture, not a single voice among the whole allopathic body was raised against it, and several other medical societies applied to the West Berlin Society before whom this precious discourse had been delivered, praying them to take suitable steps to suppress the mischievous homœopathy.

Meanwhile, a homœopathic physician* called attention to the monstrous statements contained in Rigler's discourse, and care was taken that this refutation, founded on facts, should be brought before Bardeleben, Rigler and Co. In judging the motives of the opponents of homœopathy it is important to notice that, in spite of this, no attempt was made to correct even the most glaring misstatements. On the contrary, an appeal was made to State authority for assistance in the contest. Rigler had, at that very meeting of the West Berlin Medical Society, "with the complete assent of all the members of the society present," expressed the wish that the apothecaries should be forbidden to "disfigure their shops" by inscribing over them "Homœopathic and Allopathic Pharmacy."

The following resolutions were passed: The permission to dispense their own medicines by homœopathic practitioners, which has existed hitherto, "to the great injury of the reputation and dignity of medicine," should be withdrawn. Besides this, no medicines prepared homœopathically were to be kept in stock in the apothecaries' shops. Fine resolutions certainly, and going direct to the point!

* Sorge, *Für die Homœopathie*, Berlin, 1880.

Rigler continued his labours, and wrote a book in 1882, entitled: *Homœopathy and its importance to the general welfare.*

In the preface he writes:

Ignorance of the true nature and tendencies of the subject has allowed views to prevail with regard to homœopathy, both with the public generally and in the law-making circles, which are not consonant with facts, and can only have an injurious effect on the State and on society. Let us, therefore, try to present the life and work of the founder of homœopathy, and the development and spirit of his discovery in the *light of truth.*

He relies on the "in every respect, excellent little work of Karsch," with which we are already acquainted. "Karsch has rendered a great service by this work, which may be pronounced a model of its kind." Rigler has, however, added his own services to those of Karsch, and has gone beyond him in many respects. What trouble Karsch took to convict Hahnemann of the crime of using mixtures of drugs! Rigler simplifies the process and writes, p. 25: "For the rest, he treated his patients according to the traditional methods with mixtures of drugs." And to prove this he quotes certain passages from Hufeland's *Journal*, in which mixtures of drugs are not even alluded to. Karsch at least tried to appear as though he appreciated Hahnemann's talents. Rigler can detect nothing in him but "acuteness and a certain literary capacity."

He calls Hahnemann's attack on the four bleedings which shortened the Emperor Leopold's life, the "most infamous accusation." We should expect from what we have seen of his adroitness that he would cunningly suppress the question of blood-letting and only speak of "treatment," and we are not disappointed. If only Hahnemann had more frequently repeated such "infamous accusations," if he had only attacked this destructive practice with still greater power and influence than he possessed, much unhappiness would have been spared. There would also have been no shedding of the precious blood "to the extent of causing the most profound syncope," by means of which, aided by the "evacuating method," the life's

thread of the ever memorable Queen Louisa was prematurely cut.

Rigler thus writes of Hahnemann's first wife: "Hahnemann's noble companion of his professional life, as he calls the 'scolding Xantippe' whom he had the happiness to call his wife." He tries to place his second wife in as unfavourable a light as possible, retails some completely apocryphal miserable gossip, and represents her as being eighteen instead of thirty-five years of age, which certainly suits his purpose better, but he gives no authority for this statement.

And the homœopathic practitioners?

PAGE 67:—"The whole lot of them exceed even their master in infamy and cunning," is what he says of Hahnemann's first adherents. Griesselich, he asserts, "called his opponents 'dogs,' and challenged them to mortal combat." Where does Griesselich say anything of this sort? Rigler takes refuge behind Stürmer, who was of his own way of thinking; Stürmer does not give his authority for the statement. Griesselich was staff-surgeon-general in the Baden army, and in that capacity was a favourite with his subordinates. That would surely have been impossible if he had really acted in this vulgar manner.

Words such as the following are ascribed to the homœopaths, p. 59: "Affinitätsamelioration, Indifferenzirungsblandität, Participialeinschachtelungsmethode," &c. Where in the world are such terms to be found? Why is no reference given? We cannot remember having read anything of this kind. And if some blockhead did ever write such nonsense, what right has he to lay it at the door of the whole homœopathic community?

In his description of the homœopathic practitioners, Rigler alludes several times to the Sanitätsrath Dr. B. Hirschel (p. 33 and 75). Dr. Hirschel has played a considerable part in the history of homœopathy. He sought to harmonise homœopathy with university medicine, and he also opposed Hahnemann's extreme dilution of medicines. He founded and edited for twenty years the *Zeitschrift für homœopathische Klinik*; it ceased to appear not long after his death in 1873. Anyone who is

“thoroughly” acquainted with the history of homœopathy must be aware of these facts.

Rigler thus addresses Hirschel in the year 1882, *i.e.*, nine years after his death: “I can assure this esteemed author, with whose literary productions I have unfortunately been forced to occupy myself, that I have with very great self-denial acquired the most thorough knowledge of homœopathy and its historical development.” In his ignorance and excitement he does not even leave the dead at rest.

With regard to Hirschel’s literary productions, we have already (p. 335) heard the opinion expressed by an allopath on one of his works. He is, besides, the author of the *History of Medicine*, Vienna, 1862, two editions, and of the *History of Brown’s System*, which is thus reviewed in *Janus*, a journal devoted to the history of medicine (1846, I., p. 871):—

The author’s plan of writing the history of the medical systems of recent times can only be welcomed—especially when it is carried out with such great industry, such careful study of authorities, and, as a rule, with such clear judgment as is here displayed. The author is already known to us by various historical works I repeat that this work is a valuable contribution to the special history of medical systems We can only wish for the continuation of this undertaking.

Rigler has been “unfortunately obliged to occupy himself with Hirschel’s literary productions.”

In order to convict all Hahnemann’s adherents of a want of earnest conviction, he mentions the sad case of a “homœopathic” doctor, who recommends medicines in allopathic doses, and adds that Hirschel recommended emetics for croup. He of course suppresses the fact that Hirschel is speaking of very exceptional cases, and that the great majority of homœopathic practitioners disapprove of this part of Hirschel’s practice, as may be seen in all homœopathic works, and in the treatment of homœopathists. Besides, what is proved by such individual cases?

An allopath is now practising in Berlin who draws two pounds of blood from consumptive patients at one sitting, and who in five months deprived some of these wretched creatures of eleven pounds of blood, and brought about their speedy

death. It is undoubtedly true that Professors of Medicine have committed the most glaring mistakes both in diagnosis and treatment that would have been disgraceful to *tiros* in medicine. What would the allopaths say if such individual cases were used as proof against the whole old school profession? And we might confront them with many such cases. If homœopaths are such wretched quacks and impostors, how is it possible that their number increases all over the world from year to year? How, indeed, can we explain the existence of a homœopathic literature, counting as it does its thousands of volumes?

At present four medical homœopathic journals appear in Germany; of these, the *Allgemeine homöop. Zeitung* has been published regularly since 1832. This is the oldest of all the surviving medical journals in Germany; one sheet of print appears every week, and there are now 107 complete volumes, which all testify to the earnest conviction of homœopaths; not to mention the numerous other periodicals and treatises.*

Such facts certainly deserved to be mentioned, especially in a treatise in which, as Rigler expressly affirms, p. 45, "The mirror of pure and unvarnished truth is held up to the reader."

Rigler appends to his book three pages with the names of works, all of which he has not however read—as for example the works of Bähr, Kafka, Sorge, &c., which are important for judging of the convictions and earnest study of the homœopaths, and to the contents of which he does not so much as allude, or even mention their authors' names in the text. In this way the author might have given a list

* That homœopathy has its disreputable parasites is true, and is much regretted by its adherents. But they are no more able to prevent this than the allopaths are to hinder the shepherds, old wives and such like, from dabbling in physic. If we consider that every homœopathic practitioner in Europe, without exception, was previously an allopath, that in Germany there are as yet no public schools for homœopathy, that every homœopath is his own teacher and must gradually emancipate himself from the crude allopathic therapeutics he has been taught at college, then it must be admitted that the number of pseudo-homœo-pathicists is very small.

of works referred to by him twenty times as long. Usually authors only mention those books which have really been consulted by them, and the contents of which they have utilised for their own work. Rigler is an exception to this rule—an author who goes to work in a truly original manner. This mode of procedure produced the effect which might be expected from it.

The *Hamburger Nachrichten* writes: "Rigler has used for his purpose the whole literature for and against homœopathy—the titles are cited in the appendix."

The *Pharmaceutische Zeitung* (1882, No. 35) declares that: "Rigler, in writing his work, has made use of the whole existing homœopathic literature." His readers imagine, and they are pardonable in doing so by Rigler's way of going to work, that he had studied the whole literature in question carefully, and was giving the result of his arduous studies in his "Mirror of Truth."

After this investigation of Rigler's knowledge and his motives in writing this book, we will allow him to give us an account of the origin of homœopathy and the characteristics of Hahnemann. This account is most delightful.

We see Hahnemann wandering about the country with a wife and eight children. He is seeking a livelihood for himself and his family. He has vainly tried to earn his bread by chemistry and literature. At last dire necessity urges him into crime; he becomes a wretched impostor and charlatan. He is actuated by the vulgarest avarice; stay! he has hit upon a plan. He determines to call homœopathy into life!

As a beginning, there appeared in Hufeland's *Journal*, in 1796, an article by Hahnemann which, however, as Rigler discovers with the assistance of Karsch, "was taken, though without acknowledgment, from Cullen's work and from other sources, a matter to which we will afterwards return." Besides that, Hahnemann wrote: *Æsculapius in the Balance*, *The Medicine of Experience*, and *De Viribus Medicamentorum, &c.* These three works form the groundwork of homœopathy.

"The only task now left to the inventor," Rigler continues (p. 32), quoting Karsch's words, "was to spread abroad his doctrine in order to pose as a reformer and, if possible, as a new Messiah of medicine. If he should be successful in this he had gained his end, and he did succeed, 'for it is not only children who can be fed with fairy tales.'—Lessing, *Nathan*, III., 6."

Hahnemann's pharmacology is the "most fabulous ever presented to mankind." "The ideas proper to a lunatic asylum, which the most shameless of the shameless has dared to throw in the face of common sense; he has tried to palm off his frivolous rubbish on mankind, and, alas! even this most insipid absurdity has found friends and supporters."

PAGE 45 : We say, then, Hahnemann has no importance for scientific medicine, or possesses only this negative interest, that he was the founder of a well-organized system of quackery, which he decked out with the tinsel of sham learning in order to dazzle mankind. He invented a pretended system of medicine, based on ridiculous hypotheses and ingenious lies, which makes it possible for any one who is sufficiently devoid of all critical sense to earn for himself without trouble, if not external advantages, at least the reputation of a benefactor of suffering mankind. This is his work, which immortalizes him. The unclean spirit of pride and calumny was the foundation on which he erected, under the influence of external necessity and avarice, a temple of deceit and falsehood such as history offers no other example of. By this means Hahnemann, with insolent hand, injured not only science, but also the entire system of culture; and everyone who cares for the progress of the human intellect, everyone who is interested in the triumph of truth and in the welfare of mankind, must fight with us against this demon who has covered our age with disgrace.

In order that the desired effect may be indelibly impressed on the reader, these charges are recapitulated on p. 46, and he is invited "to look through them again."

With ever-increasing vehemence the reader is repeatedly assured that Hahnemann invented homœopathy from the basest and most sordid motives. This would seem enough to dispose of Hahnemann. But he has not been sufficiently condemned :—

PAGE 47 : If the well-read Hahnemann omitted to state whence he derived this science, and even impudently laid claim to originality,

history here again convicts him of falsehood. The central idea of homœopathy is not derived from Hahnemann, but from Theophrastus Bombastes Paracelsus.

Rigler has discovered this, and he raises the veil with an unsparing hand. Schultz is his witness, and he appeals to his work (comp. above, p. 300). Rigler writes his name without a "t." It is the same Schultz who afterwards called himself "Schultz-Schultzenstein," and under this name wrote, among other works, the book, *Life—Health—Disease—Cure* (2nd edition, Basle, 1873). In this he proves, on page 187, that the cellular theory is not German, but French in origin, and that "those are utterly mistaken who look upon it as the outcome of German industry." It was first enunciated by the French flower painter, Turpin—Schultz discovered this, too—and "his doctrine was repeated by Schleiden, Schwann, and others.....Turpin's part has only been played over again in Germany."

PAGE 289: He pronounces his opinion that medicine in Germany is "a scientific electuary, comprised of cells and tissue changes."

Certain people, then, had better keep on good terms with Rigler. Were he to seek for the truth about them he might pass them before him in the same "mirror of truth" which he has been cruel enough to direct against Hahnemann.

Hahnemann's merits are once more clearly, plainly, and comprehensively represented: "Hahnemann strove to break through the necessary limits of science; to change medicine into child's play by means of lies and absurdities; to weaken and to libel both German physicians and the whole medical art; to represent the sources of medical knowledge as worthless and objectionable; and, finally, to introduce the disgraceful traffic in secret remedies into the practice of medicine. In order to carry out the travesty to the end, Hahnemann did not omit to call attention to the beauty and worth of the German language, but, nevertheless, we miss these painfully in his writings, and encounter all sorts of crudities and the most unheard-of barbarisms."

Stieglitz (*l.c.* p. 89) had admitted that "Hahnemann was

master of the art of writing clearly, decidedly and powerfully." Stieglitz was, therefore, mistaken.

The following is the solemn conclusion of this remarkable chapter :—

Notwithstanding all this, posterity erected a bronze statue to Hahnemann, the vilest of quacks and impostors, in the very centre of Germany, "in grateful recognition of his immortal teaching and of his invaluable services to medicine." And a German town suffers this disgrace! Where is the German love of truth, the German sense of right and feeling of shame? Awake! throw this false idol down from its beggarly throne, and save culture from further destruction!

It is (according to Rigler) only because of their love of gain, and their desire to plunder their confiding patients, that the homœopaths insist on themselves dispensing their medicines. His remarks do not suffice to refute the strong arguments in favour of all doctors, allopathic or homœopathic, dispensing their own medicines—surely a self-evident right—which Sorge brings forward in the pamphlet we have already mentioned. Rigler does not allude to this—does not even mention it in his "complete literature" of homœopathy. At the end of his book Rigler, quite unexpectedly, makes a sensible proposal. The homœopaths should be allowed to dispense themselves those remedies which are found to contain no medicine discoverable by chemical analysis, taste, smell or colour (*i.e.*, perhaps beyond the 3rd or 4th decimal, or beyond the 2nd centesimal dilution);* but if they wish to give stronger doses, as 1 in 10, they should prescribe these "in the regular way." When Hahnemann was prohibited from dispensing his medicines, he addressed a representation to the authorities at Leipzig, in which he pointed out the inconsequence involved in this prohibition :—

I only use doses that are so small that they are imperceptible to the senses and to chemical analysis. The extreme minuteness of the doses of simple medicinal substances in this new system removes all possible suspicion of any injury from the size of a dose of medicine administered to the patient. The beneficial effect and great curative

* Certain substances can even be detected by chemistry in the $\frac{1}{1,000,000,000}$ th and by spectral analysis in the proportion of 1 to 1,000,000,000.

power of such small doses depends upon their mode of selection for the appropriate cases of disease, which is peculiar to homœopathy, of which ordinary medicine knows nothing. The apothecary, unable to understand this, ridicules the idea of doses so small that they cannot be detected either by the senses or by the best chemical analysis. If the apothecary, jealous as he is of the new system, can find neither medicine nor poison in the remedies of the true homœopathic practitioner that could be injurious, surely the State need alarm itself less about the remedies given by homœopathy than about the trade of the apothecary, who unhesitatingly sells the very same remedies to anybody—in a million times greater amount—only limited by the prohibition to sell arsenic, corrosive sublimate, opium and a few other substances to strangers.

Rigler discusses this representation of Hahnemann (p. 38) and indicates the source correctly, but without quoting verbatim. Hahnemann's words are only given to the reader either distorted or out of their proper connexion, otherwise Hahnemann might not appear in the desired light, and so Rigler would not have been able to add (at least, not without losing all claim to be believed even by the most good-natured reader) the following remark: "The authorities did not allow themselves to be hoodwinked by such sophistries and cunning devices." Are the sophistries and cunning devices to be found in Hahnemann or in the united apothecaries and allopaths? Rigler (p. 144) makes exactly the same proposal which had been made by Hahnemann, under the delusion that he is thereby annihilating homœopathy. He calls sophistry and cunning in one place what he himself suggests in another. If such a proposal were to receive the force of law it would be of great service to homœopathy. For what was the object of the numerous petitions of the homœopaths? What is even now one of their most ardent wishes? The carrying out of Rigler's proposal. What was it that drove Hahnemann from his home in Leipzig, with his wife and children, when an old man? The lack of such an arrangement has exposed, and still exposes, the homœopaths to numerous intrigues and chicaneries. But the majority of combatants do not agree with Rigler on this point. They see further into the matter, and will not consent to such a proposal. They will look on with pleasure while Rigler decries and abuses homœopathy,

but beyond that they will not follow him. He lays about him with such blind impetuosity that his blows fall on his own adherents and, with the phlebotomizing Simon, he exclaims: "The world is given over to folly," quite forgetting that the world still adheres to allopathy.

To show the spirit with which Rigler's work is imbued, we quote some of the epithets which he bestows on Hahnemann and the homœopaths: Hahnemann—p. 25: "Dealer in secret remedies," "charlatan of the basest kind"—p. 27: "medical vagabond," "adventurer"—p. 28: "liar," "cheat," "pickpocket," "braggart"—p. 34: "the old rat-catcher"—p. 35: "sly and unprincipled liar and deceiver"—p. 36: "the most shameless of the shameless"—p. 40: "grand master of lying"—p. 42: "prince of lies"—p. 52: "the most miserable of all charlatans and impostors," "false idol on a beggar's throne"—p. 57: "this pitiable wretch"—p. 64: "arch-father of lies."

Homœopathy—p. 16: "castle on the sand"—p. 38: "deception"—p. 41: "absurdity, lies"—p. 45: "a pretended system founded on the most absurd hypotheses and cleverly invented lies," "a fabric of deceit and lies"—p. 46: "a demon that is a disgrace to our century"—p. 47: "charlatany"—p. 51: "child's play made up of lies and folly"—p. 54: "tissue of absurdity and lies"—p. 59: "miserable trash and nonsense"—p. 19: "this pest was introduced into Russia, &c."—p. 70: "refuge for rogues and charlatans"—p. 75: "flagitious game," "impudent, miserable crime"—p. 84: "fool's play," "the dunghill of homœopathic practice"—p. 85: "repulsive and absurd rubbish"—p. 86: "miserable filth of the most pitiable superstition." Certainly an out-spoken writer!

He thus speaks of lay homœopathy—p. 99: "the height of homœopathic harmfulness in all its viciousness"—p. 100: "shameful deception"—p. 102: "this wild absurdity," "deception," "superstition," "system of lies," "the invasion by the pest of a region hitherto free"—p. 109: "madness"—p. 133: "castle on the sand"—146: "homœopathic imposture," "charlatany, destructive nonsense," "lies"—p. 150: "dishonour of the medical profession," "disgrace of the age."

Homœopathic practitioners are—p. 61: “ traitors to science ”—p. 67: “ the whole lot transcends the master in infamy and trickery ”—p. 70: “ fools, rogues, charlatans, lunatics, mountebanks ”—p. 75: “ we should have no mercy on Hahnemann and his adherents—they are a disgrace to truth and science ; no words are too strong to designate their shamelessness ”—p. 78: “ there are patients who lack common sense, and there are doctors who are homœopaths ”—p. 16: “ they drag the science of medicine through the dirty mud of the most pitiful superstition.”

We only give here a few specimens of Rigler's fluency. If we wished to exhaust this topic it would be necessary to reproduce half of Rigler's treatise. “ Remembering the *ridendo dicere verum*, I have taken infinite pains to avoid all bitterness and harshness,” says Rigler in his preface.

We might suppose that a book of this kind, made up of misrepresentations and expressions of personal ill-feeling, larded with falsehoods, deserves no respect. If a Frenchman were to undertake to describe Germany and German life, and were to do it thus: Endless, desolate, barren tracts extend over the whole country. The climate is always severe, cold and rainy, and oats is the only grain that ripens. The whole nation suffers from want, and barely subsists on the remains of the milliards stolen from us. Their food consists chiefly of oat cakes and potatoes, of which they consume incredible quantities, so that their bodies are swollen out like frogs. Their national drink, beer, contributes to this deformity, and gives their noses a potato shape and a red hue. Their brain is constantly muddled by their unlimited consumption of this brown alcoholic fluid, which increases their natural rude and awkward behaviour. Their houses are wretched huts, ornamented only with clocks stolen from us, which, however, often change their owners, because the Germans are unable to overcome their propensity to confound *meum* and *tuum*. Lying and deception prevail to such an extent among the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest, that it is almost impossible to find any one whom one can trust. (In illustration, he would relate a quantity of utterly unfounded facts, and distort the words of the

Germans themselves). If any one dares to speak French in the street, all eyes are at once directed on him, and he meets with hostile and furious glances. The most important towns are Berlin, Spandau, Kassel, and Breslau. Berlin is situated in Brandenburg, Spandau in Pomerania, Breslau in the East, and Kassel is the capital of Westphalia. This is the true condition of Germany, presented to us in the mirror of pure and unvarnished truth.

Should we consider it worth while to refute such a Frenchman? We should be astonished at such impudent distortion of the facts. We should almost compassionate the ignorance and want of good taste of the readers who should approve of it; and we should remark, with satisfaction, that such absurdities could never be perpetrated in Germany. Just so is it with Rigler. He is only worth noticing (and this is our only reason for having dwelt on him so long) because the allopathic criticism of his book has given us a convenient means for forming a judgment of allopathic knowledge and opinion with regard to homœopathy.

The reception of his book by the allopaths is, therefore, interesting and important, as it shows us what the allopaths consider the proper mode of combating homœopathy. We are met with this remarkable fact:—

The whole body of allopaths is in full concurrence with Rigler's treatise, and not a single voice is raised to express the very least dissent from him. Rigler's book and Rigler's conduct were most favourably noticed by all allopathic reviewers. Rigler was even praised to the skies for his conduct of the contest.

Here are some specimens from among the mass of criticisms, of which some even surpassed their Rigler in virulence; they all express their great satisfaction with the book—a sufficient proof of their knowledge and of the spirit that animated them.

The *Berliner klin. Wochenschrift*, 1882, p. 338, writes:

"Dr. Rigler, who is well known as one of the most energetic opponents of the homœopathic delusion, draws, in this work, from authentic homœopathic sources, viz., the

works of Hahnemann and his disciples, a picture of the inept absurdities which this monstrosity, begotten of filth and milk-sugar, has produced."

"We must express our thanks to the author who has taken the trouble to work his way through the wilderness of materials, and has presented his sum-total in a form which makes its perusal a real pleasure, in spite of a melancholy feeling it cannot fail to inspire. We recommend it to be circulated as widely as possible, and hope it may open the eyes of the public on the subject of the 'like-sufferers,' as Herr Rigler translates the word homœopath, and their false doctrine."

The *Deutsche medicinische Wochenschrift*, 1882, p. 565, begins : "It would be a sad sign of the times if a work such as Rigler's were now, as happened in the days of Bleekrode, Gmelin and Stieglitz, to serve the purpose of inaugurating a struggle of reason against the superstition and folly of those dabblers in medicine who call themselves homœopaths." The days of Bleekrode! The struggle of reason against superstition and folly! Who was Bleekrode? How and when did he attack the "superstition" and "folly" of homœopathy? Bleekrode wrote : *Commentat. medic. inaugur., pars prior, sistens Palæolog. reg. therap. Similia Similibus curantur*; Groningæ, 1835. The attempt was made in this work to represent the *similia similibus* as an old principle known even to the ancient Jews. The Bible and the Talmud were examined; the old Chaldaeans and Æthiopians were appealed to; then came Hippocrates and the Greeks, Galen and the Middle Ages. With regard to Paracelsus, he says, p. 102, after having spoken of *similia similibus* and the small doses :—

Si vero ad Paracelsum spectes, plane hisce contraria inveniemus. Paracelsus enim arte sua signata, anatomica et magica, in medicaminum vim inquirebat, licet nonnullis in casibus ejusmodi remedia laudaverit, uti arsenicum [this is the only remedy, according to this indication, which Bleekrode mentions in connexion with Paracelsus, comp., p. 89] cuius vis medicatrix ipsi innotuit symptomatum similitudine, quæ ex actione in sanum hominem sequuntur.

PAGE 123, *et seq.*, it is mentioned that Fr. Hoffmann and Albrecht von Haller expressed themselves in favour of the

testing of medicines without, however, carrying out the practice. Page 125:—

Ita inter multos Greding, Ludwig, Störck,* ideo laudabant narcoticorum in neurosibus, mania, paralysi, &c., usum, quia haec a sano consumta ipsum iisdem morbis aegrum redderi solent. Etiam specificorum indicatio inde deprompta fuit, quia remedia haec sanis in eodem organorum systemate morbum excitant. Ita cantharidum usum laudarunt in organorum uropoëticorum morbis, quia haec organa hisce eadem ratione ægrescant. Aloe et sulphur haemorrhoidibus laborantibus porrigebantur, quia in organa abdominalia vires suas exserunt. Plura hujusmodi exempla addi possunt, etiam fusius ab Hahnemanno indicata. Multa etiam exstant exempla remediorum adhibitorum, de quibus non dubitandum est, quin a sanis consumta eandem symptomatum seriem produxissent, quæ morbum determinavit; sed haec a posteriori ita visa sunt sese habere, quippe quæ empyrica ratione vel periculi faciendi causa tentata sunt.

After Bleekrode has briefly sketched the history of the origin of homœopathy he gives his opinion, founded on observations at the sick bed, and often quotes the illustrious Hufeland and Kopp (the clarissimus vir), whose stand-point he adopts: p. 143:—

Eadem quippe regula similia similibus curantur, quæ hujus systematis est fundamentum, aliquando probabiliter Methodus Therapeutica Medicinæ Rationalis erit, quemadmodum nostra aetate nonnulli jam præsagire incepérunt.

He then seeks to determine the limits of the use of homœopathy. He does not doubt the efficacy of Hahnemann's remedies, but blames, with justice, his fondness for systematising and other things which had been condemned by Hahnemann's adherents ten years before. He thus gives his opinion of Hahnemann:—

Vir celeberrimus et acutissimus, qui semper magna cum sagacitate in literis versatus et praeterera de arte chemica optime meritus.

These are the “days of a Bleekrode!” and such his attack on “superstition and folly.”

Stieglitz and Gmelin certainly rejected homœopathy. We have seen that Stieglitz said in 1835 that homœopathy would soon die out, and its adherents would return to allopathy, in thankful remembrance of the services

* We have seen that Hahnemann cites these authors.

it renders (the bleedings, emetics, and purgatives of those days). We know, too, how a homœopathic physician came to occupy Stieglitz's position as physician in ordinary to the King of Hanover, and that the king assured him by letter that the results of homœopathic treatment had been more favourable than the results of his former physician's treatment. Gmelin reproached the homœopaths severely for rejecting bleeding and emetics. He admitted, however, the worth of much of the system, *e.g.*, the proving of medicines, and pointed out the defects of the old system in this respect.

The placing together of the names of Bleekrode, Stieglitz and Gmelin, as is done here, gives (from reasons that excite the amusement of any one acquainted with their writings) another proof of the absolute ignorance of the allopaths, and astonishes one at the positiveness with which they speak of a matter, the existence of which is, indeed, in the highest degree unpleasant and disagreeable for them, but as to the nature and history of which they are either grossly ignorant or deceived. It is a remarkable coincidence, that in Häser's *History* (1881, p. 797), the same three names are placed together. We need only throw a glance at this page and the chapter on "the criticism of Hahnemann's doctrine," and these same three names meet our eyes. Gmelin is one of the few opponents who own that homœopathy has been attacked with base weapons.* It would hardly, then, have been superfluous if the writer in this periodical, who speaks with the assumption of superior knowledge, had shown that he possessed at least a superficial acquaintance with the works to which he refers.

The same *Deutsche medicin. Wochenschrift* continues:—

Every one, be he an adherent or an opponent of homœopathy, knows what a cut-purse principle incorporated itself in the person of the inventor of homœopathy, the adventurer who neglected no means of gaining a practice; every one knows and abhors the tricks by means of which this kind of quacks seek to maintain their ground. . . . To this subject belongs, besides the damning biography of the arch-impostor, the critical contribution to the sincerity of the conviction

* *L.c.*, p. 247.

of the more recent homœopathic practitioners [which we have discussed above], which shows how they endeavour, in their wretched stammering way, to profit by the pathological discoveries of medicine, and how they treat the fools who fall into their hands non-homœopathically if they desire it.

The reviewer reaches a high pitch of excitement, such as no adherent of a system protected by the State and supported by the majority would fall into if he were convinced that he was waging a just war with fair weapons. The accusation that the homœopaths treat their patients allopathically if they wish it, is as old as homœopathy, and would, if it were true, easily prove the quackery of the whole business. For this reason it is constantly repeated. Occasionally accusations such as these are publicly made, but they have repeatedly been shown to be groundless. The term "charlatan" would certainly be indelibly stamped on a medical man who acted thus.

With regard to the strength of conviction of the homœopathic practitioners, we refer these gentlemen to their champion, Gmelin, who says, *l.c.* p. 246: "Homœopathic physicians are enthusiasts. Its disciples would lay down their lives in defence of the new doctrine." Every one who has to do with homœopathic practitioners becomes more and more firmly persuaded of the unshakable strength of their convictions, and sees that they have a pleasure in exercising their profession such as the allopaths for a long time have ceased to possess.

This paper thus alludes to the liberty possessed by the homœopaths to dispense their own medicines; this right was conceded to them in Prussia, subject to a State examination which, with all the rights appertaining to it, is open to every medical man:

The struggle to acquire the right of dispensing medicine by homœopathic practitioners forms a page in the history of Prussia which will excite in our posterity a feeling like that with which we read of the making of gold, of werewolves and of the trials of witches—a feeling made up of incredulous wonder and a sense of indignant shame.

It is then emphatically asserted that it is the duty of the State "not to expose its citizens to be injured by the homœopathic fraud, not to allow them to become the prey of this mode of treatment or permit the flagrant piracy of dispen-

sing their medicines by practitioners. Many thanks are due to Rigler . . . greatest care . . . purity of language . . . calmness in carrying out his train of thought, &c. . . . If he tries to make this odious theme somewhat more enjoyable to himself and his readers by the use of strong language and sarcasms, who will seriously blame him?" This periodical suggests to the Prussian government that "if it would only read this concluding chapter we should not have long to wait for an alteration of this condition," *i.e.*, dispensing of medicines. "This monograph [Rigler's] is a contribution to the re-organisation of the laws relating to medicine." If, on the one hand, it is impossible to preserve one's gravity when Rigler, with his glaring perversions of truth, is represented as the "re-organiser of the laws relating to medicine;" on the other hand, we can hardly understand how such a work can be recommended to a Government which ought to consist of calm and impartial men, as the material from which its decisions are to be formed. It is the work of a man who had been convicted and punished for publishing about his homœopathic colleagues the most glaring falsehoods suggested by personal irritation and party feeling, and who, instead of confessing the injustice of his charges, repeats and exaggerates his former misstatements in this very work.

Another medical journal expresses the following opinion of Köppe's and Rigler's works:—

The appearance of these two works is eminently well-timed. The first of the two points out clearly and calmly the absence of scientific method in the system; the second [Rigler] draws his sharp sword against falsehood with the fire of just indignation. We can give this praise to both works, that they are characterised by historical truthfulness and scientific treatment of a subject which suggests so much that is absurd and ridiculous that it would appear to be very difficult, *satyram non scribere*. In his chapter on liberty of dispensing medicines, Dr. Rigler throws much light on the disadvantageous effects of Hahnemann's system on the public welfare.

The organ of the united German medical societies, the *Aerztliches Vereinsblatt für Deutschland* expresses (1882, p. 118) the opinion that—

Rigler's historico-critical treatise will occupy a prominent position among the works which have hitherto been written on homœopathy and

the homœopaths. The first part—Samuel Hahnemann—a biographical sketch—deals a blow at the constitution of homœopathy from which its Coryphæi will find it difficult to recover. He proves that the Divine gift of homœopathy was an invention brought about by the pressure of necessity and perfected by speculation. This is historic truth, related by Rigler in a manner at once so cutting and yet so pleasant that this one chapter gives permanent value to the whole work.

After having lauded this work in all its parts, the allopaths are informed “that Rigler has furnished material which will enable physicians to become thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and thus to put themselves in a position to contribute towards the final settling of this question. Rigler concludes with an energetic appeal to physicians to rouse themselves and manfully combat this mischievous system,” as if the allopaths had hitherto looked on quietly and in childish innocence at the inconvenient spread of homœopathy.*

If a homœopath had wished to prove to the world how profound was the ignorance of the allopaths on the subject of Hahnemann and his doctrines, he could not have set about it more skilfully than Rigler has done. He has involuntarily laid a snare for allopathy. One allopath after another has eagerly entered the net, and a number of political papers have joyfully followed suit—a fact worth noting. Out of the large draught of fishes in Rigler's net we call attention to two remarkable specimens. One is the organ of the apothecaries, the central organ for the trade and scientific interests of pharmacy, the *Pharmaceutische Zeitung*.† The satisfaction of the apothecaries with Rigler's work appears still greater than that of the doctors. With much joy their central organ gives long extracts, quoting conscientiously all Rigler's strong expressions, and praises them greatly. These extracts are continued through five numbers, each occupying several columns. The mood of the apothecaries becomes so cheerful that a satirical poem on Hahnemann, written at the beginning of this century, is

* In 1881, Rigler was fined heavily for calumniating the homœopaths, and the Editors of the *Wochenschrift* and *Vereinsblatt* were also fined for publishing Rigler's calumnies, which may perhaps account for the extreme bitterness of these champions of “scientific” and “rational” medicines in 1882.—[ED.]

† 1883. Nos. 38, 41, 42, 45 and 49.

re-published in No. 45, and in number No. 49 the following skit is reproduced :—

Oh that I were a homœopath! Would that I could believe in Hahnemann's theory! But I cannot. I will at once state why. I have read a great deal about homœopathy, and I find that though the theory is good, the practice is bad. One day I was suffering from diarrœa. Well, I said to myself, here is a good opportunity for testing homœopathy. What is the cause of my illness? Sour plums. Then sour plums ought to cure me. They nearly killed me. I cannot believe in the like-by-like system. If I did I would erect a monument in the middle of a town like a drinking fountain; round it I would place basins with pipes leading to a reservoir, and above every basin I would write the words, "Stranger, let your tears fall here." When the reservoir was filled with tears I would evaporate them to dryness and would dissolve every grain of the salt thus obtained in a gallon of water, and would put the solution in 2-drachm phials, and sell it as "Dolorin, a cure for every grief," at a high price. Every homœopath is invited to make use of this idea. I have not yet taken out a patent for it.

The reference to Rigler's book is accompanied by the following remarks :—

The fact, apparently, is incontrovertibly established by Rigler that both Hahnemann and the other heads of the school were gross charlatans. About the year 1830, homœopathy had been almost completely abandoned by the German doctors, but the aristocracy and the clergy took it up. The science of pharmacy was degraded by granting the right of dispensing to homœopathic doctors. The wild desire for freedom of dispensing was the war cry of Hahnemann's adherents. Dispensing by the practitioner became a wretched trade, which, however, had advantages both direct and indirect, and on that account, therefore solely from love of gain, was firmly adhered to. Hahnemann amassed heaps of gold and lived in great luxury. Is it to be wondered at if, under such circumstances, homœopathy finds enthusiastic adherents, both among doctors and non-professionals. The history of homœopathy forces on the philosopher the sad reflection that every speculation on the folly of mankind, if undertaken with the necessary boldness, has the prospect of material success and imitation.

If the apothecaries write and print such views for a large circle of readers, we can safely infer by what spirit they are animated towards homœopathy, even if other more tangible proofs did not come under our notice every day. By such criticisms they show us with how much confidence homœopathic doctors can prescribe homœopathic medicines from allopathic drug-stores.

Another catch of Rigler's is the *Wiener medicin. Wochenschrift*. According to this (1882, p. 1199), the allopaths "ought to be heartily grateful to Rigler for expending so much labour and care on the study of so worthless a subject." Homœopathy is "a speculation on the credulity, the superstition and the stupidity of a large portion of mankind," and does not require any knowledge from its adherents. "This is the reason of the popularity of homœopathy with its medical adherents." The grossest misrepresentations of Rigler in his descriptions of Hahnemann and homœopathy are extracted, and the opinion is expressed that Rigler's condemnation is the result of a thorough study of homœopathic literature.

With regard to the "ease with which a knowledge of homœopathy is acquired" as opposed to allopathy, which is, as this journal believes, or at all events asserts, the chief reason of its attractiveness, the writer seems to forget that the homœopaths have to follow the same course of study, to pass the same examinations as the allopaths, and that, in order to obtain the right of dispensing medicines, they have besides to pass an examination in chemistry, in pharmacy and in homœopathic therapeutics; that the homœopaths have to learn much more than the allopaths, and that therefore the knowledge of therapeutics possessed by every true homœopath exceeds that of the allopaths. But setting all this aside, the time required for mastering allopathic therapeutics is only a fraction of that required for homœopathic therapeutics.

Quinine in fever; morphia, chloral-hydrate in pain or sleeplessness; iron in chlorosis; salicylic acid in rheumatism of every kind, &c.; these can be taught in a very short time to any non-professional. Neither is it difficult to master the ordinary mode of mixing medicines. The task of the homœopathic doctor is not so easy; he has to choose in individual cases among a much larger number of remedies, and must be more accurately acquainted with the effects of medicines and their employment; this requires a peculiar, diligent and uninterrupted study and careful note-taking. Anyone lacking zeal in this particular can never be a good homœopath, though no one can prevent him

calling himself a "homœopath." Only an earnest and assiduous student can become a good homœopathic therapist who will never resort to the allopathic custom of giving quinine as a remedy for fever or even for ague, who treats scrofulous inflammation of the eye only by internal remedies prepared homœopathically, and who in diphtheria never employs external medicines, &c., &c., but who in all cases gives medicines only in homœopathic doses, and with all this obtains results which enable him to contemplate allopathic persecutions with the tranquillity of a good conscience. Anyone who acts otherwise, either has no right to the name of homœopath, or is still in a transition state, or has prematurely brought his studies to an end, a condition of affairs which is largely due to the want of homœopathic hospitals and teachers. Even salicylic acid in cases of rheumatic arthritis and mercury in appreciable quantities in syphilis can be replaced by Hahnemann's preparations, and better results will be obtained, with a complete absence of injurious after effects.

If we have often had occasion to notice that the most bitter opponents of homœopathy were those whose therapeutic treatment was least successful at the sick bed, and who were the least confident of their power to cure, this periodical, which joyfully, gratefully, and "with all its heart" adopts Rigler's mis-statements, furnishes a further proof of our assertion. This same *Wiener medic. Wochenschrift*, while under precisely the same editorship, expresses the following views on allopathic therapeutics :—*

What is praised by one is ridiculed by another. What one doctor dares not give in small doses is given by another in large doses, and what is praised by one as something new is considered by another as not being worthy of being rescued from oblivion. The favourite remedy of one is morphia; another treats three-fourths of his patients with quinine; a third expects favourable results from purgatives; a fourth from the healing power of nature; a fifth from water; one blesses, another curses mercury. In a short period of time the treatment by mercurial inunction flourished, was set aside, and then came into repute again; it was looked upon as buried, funeral orations

* 1867, No. 54, p. 681.

were pronounced over it, and then it was disinterred, and lately its praises have again been sung by enthusiastic admirers. And such things happen within a few decades in the self-same "school," under the sway of the same infallible therapeutic despot, girded with the sword of triumphant science.

Further on, this same periodical, which has always persecuted all who thought differently from itself, gives the following criticism of its own allopathic *materia medica*.*

Above all we must here allude to that gross fraud which the high priests of science impose on their disciples, although neither they nor the majority of medical men believe in it. I mean the fables of the so-called pharmacodynamics, of the *materia medica*. . . . This newer pharmacology, which is taught at the Universities, and about which large volumes are written which students are obliged to learn almost by heart, belongs, in virtue of at least nine-tenths of its contents, to the region of fables and fairy tales, and is a survival of the old belief in magic. The numerous announcements of newly-discovered remedies which, in all the journals, are recommended by the apothecaries and provided with testimonials as to their infallibility by doctors, show that pains are being taken to extend the empire of magic and superstition.

RETROSPECT.

Let us briefly recapitulate the history of the opposition offered to homœopathy. When Hahnemann first introduced his method of treatment to notice, he was well known throughout all Germany and abroad as an excellent chemist. The pharmaceutists honoured in him a zealous promoter of the apothecaries' art, and when the names of the most illustrious in this branch were mentioned, Hahnemann's was not omitted. He enjoyed a high reputation as a scholar, and was regarded by the medical profession as one of the most esteemed representatives of their art, to whom they owed many important contributions tending to perfect the science, as was frequently and unreservedly admitted. By his lively, impetuous temperament, by his desire to remedy acknowledged evils, and by his vast schemes for overthrowing the whole system of medicine

* 1872, No. 44, p. 1113.

and building it up anew on the foundation of his principles, which he held with the whole strength of his conviction, he was involved in a life and death struggle with almost the whole medical world. He attacked medicine on its weakest sides, and declared without circumlocution on every occasion that he considered the treatment of its practitioners more dangerous than the disease itself. The old school felt that the foundations of their therapeutics were shaken, and sought to maintain them by every possible means. They had to justify the greater part of what had been their medical practice hitherto in order to maintain their reputation, and to answer this cardinal question, whether their labours had tended to preserve and lengthen men's lives or to destroy them. The strife was bitter, as must be the case when the ground on which the attacked party stands is insecure.

Many medical men, however, looked upon Hahnemann's attacks on the wretched system of treatment according to all sorts of illusory theories, on the irrational bleeding, on the violent purgatives, on the complex prescriptions, as being partially, at least, well founded. Several among them approved of his earnest attempts to obtain a firm, natural-historical basis for medical treatment, and to banish conjecture, superstition and speculation from medicine by simple prescriptions, by strict individualisation, by careful attention to the preparation of medicines, by the proving of medicines on the healthy organism, by their use according to fixed principles, and by the most careful observations taken at the sick bed. This recognition of his merits is expressed and thankfully acknowledged in many places, but Hahnemann is constantly exhorted not to set up this method as the universal and only true system. But he remained unmoved in his own opinions, and thus became one-sided in his views, and was guilty of errors which laid him open to the attacks of his opponents.

A great hindrance in the way of an understanding being arrived at was the practice of bleeding, which the opponents of Hahnemann clung to as an article of religious faith. His rejection of bleeding exposed Hahnemann to

the most bitter attacks and the most reckless accusations. The class of his opponents favourable to bleeding has now almost disappeared, but the slanders and abuse which they hurled in blind fury against their dangerous enemy have remained, have been inherited and added to by a subsequent race of opponents.

At first all his opponents spoke in high terms of Hahnemann's previous services ; but at the end of the second and beginning of the third decade of this century, works appeared containing no allusions to his previous services, and dwelling on the weak points of his doctrines all the more forcibly. His mode of preparing medicines, arrived at after long and laborious investigations, served as a butt for ridicule, and was eagerly employed to convict him of folly.

None of his bitterest opponents dared at first to term Hahnemann a charlatan. They still preserved a certain amount of decency, and recognised the psychological impossibility that a man who had during twenty years given such obvious proofs of unflagging industry, of an earnest striving after truth, who enjoyed the friendship of the most highly esteemed men, could suddenly turn into a vulgar charlatan, and employ himself during forty years and more of his life in basely deceiving his suffering fellow-creatures who had sought his aid in their distress. This class of his opponents was at least logical, and said that his mind had become enfeebled.

Gradually, however, Hahnemann's previous services were consigned to oblivion, and now it was sought, by perversions and misrepresentations, to represent him as an impostor, a charlatan and a swindler. His adherents met with the same fate. "I have repaid him with full measure for his attacks on the profession ; and if he has not lost all sense of truth, he must own that I have, at least in this respect, fully grasped the sense of his *similia similibus currentur*, and have treated him according to true homeopathic principles," exclaims one ardent opponent of Hahnemann and defender of bleeding,* with a sense of gratified vengeance.†

* Even in threatened phthisis.

† Simon, *Geist der Hom.*, Hamburg, 1833, p. 8.

The apothecaries, who feared danger to their very existence from homœopathy, lent their zealous support to the allopaths, and assiduously characterised homœopathy as a "fraud." But this did not hinder them from attempting to bring homœopathy within the sphere of their privileges.

The great advance in the medical auxiliary sciences by the physiological school, which apparently intensified the current that ran counter to the homœopathic tendency, now took place, and gave rise to the idea that homœopathy was a hindrance to the physiological development of medicine. Professors at the universities who occupied themselves with homœopathy were turned out, and young doctors were imbued with a hatred of everything connected with homœopathy. Its opponents employed all the organs devoted to the interests of the majority in order to represent homœopathy as mere folly and imposture.

The homœopaths busied themselves with the development of their system, but yet found time to reply in numerous works, wherein they set forth the real character of their therapeutics, but they omitted to furnish a history of the development of homœopathy, nor did they care to refute the gross misrepresentations which were propagated in ever increasing numbers, until they, in course of time, grew to the most monstrous dimensions.

It can be incontrovertibly proved that every opponent has been guilty of misrepresentation or error—of ignorance and mendacity—in his representation of homœopathy. There is no exception to this.

Hahnemann and the homœopaths were generally attacked with passionate recklessness, and the object of their opponents was gained by making homœopathy appear to be a farrago of rubbish.

It is only accidentally that every now and then a physician gets a glimpse of the true nature of homœopathy, and he is astonished to perceive the obstructions which the allopaths, in their blind infatuation, have opposed to truth. If he, then, recognises the gross error of the opponents of homœopathy ; if he seeks to ascertain the real essence of the system ; if he grasps its truth, and if he possesses the energy to defend it

publicly, he is furiously persecuted on all sides, and is driven out of the medical body and avoided like a plague-stricken creature, and that quite regardless of the evidence he may have given of honest striving after truth ; he has committed a mortal crime and is condemned off-hand.*

Owing to such a remarkable state of affairs, we are impelled to investigate the therapeutics taught in our universities, and see if it is really such a crime to be discontented with the present system and to look for something better.

* A few words respecting the allopathic efforts to stifle and put down homœopathy in other countries besides Germany, may be permitted here.

In Great Britain, various medical men of greater or less eminence in the old school have written books and articles in journals against it. The most conspicuous of these polemical authors are Sir J. Y. Simpson, Sir J. Forbes, Sir B. Brodie, Dr. C. J. B. Williams, Dr. Bristow, Dr. Bushnan and Dr. Routh.

Simpson's work is elaborate and unfair; Forbes's first article in his *Medical Review* is ostensibly judicial and moderate in tone. He there says: "Whoever examines the homœopathic doctrines as enounced and expounded in the original writings of Hahnemann and by many of his followers, - must admit, not only that the system is an ingenious one, but that it professes to be based on a most formidable array of facts and experiments, and that these are woven into a complete code of doctrine with singular dexterity and much apparent fairness."

Eleven years later, in *Nature and Art in Disease* (p. 250), Forbes speaks of homœopathy as "a system utterly false and despicable"; the violent attacks made upon him by his allopathic brethren on account of his first article, may perhaps have had something to do with this remarkable change of opinion.

Dr. Bristow's address on homœopathy at the meeting of the British Medical Association, in 1881, is written in a calm and judicial spirit, and displays the unique quality of speaking of the adherents of Hahnemann's system as though they were entitled to professional courtesy, and might be considered to be honest as well as well-educated men. The writings of Williams and Brodie show that their authors know nothing about the system they attacked. Bushnan's work attempts to unite the conflicting parts of quasi-candid examination and unreasoning abuse. Routh's work is an attack

APPENDIX.

Medicine as it is now taught in the Universities.

In Germany the minds of scientific physicians were still enveloped in the mists of natural philosophy, while the inductive method of research was already firmly established in England and France. In England, John Hunter (1728—1793) had, by his intelligent researches, brought to light many scientific facts, and had especially striven to prove that in inflammation the phenomena of the disease follow physiological laws.

on homœopathic statistics, which he proves by elaborate tables to be infinitely superior in the results obtained to those of the allopaths, but which he concludes must be false chiefly, as it seems to me, because they do show this superiority. His argument is like this: Homœopathy is false. Allopathy is true. A false system must be less successful in the treatment of disease than a true one. These statistics show a much greater success in the treatment of disease in homœopathic than in allopathic hospitals, "argal" the homœopathic statistics must be cooked.

The warfare against homœopathy in this country was not confined to literature. The power of the majority was exerted against the heterodox minority in other ways. Black was refused the fellowship of the Edinburgh College of Physicians; Henderson was forced to resign his Clinical Professorship; Horner and Reith were turned out of their hospitals; coroner's inquests (presided over by allopathic medical coroners) were used oppressively against homœopathic practitioners; Colleges and Universities fulminated anathemas against any of their members who should practise the hated system. Candidates were rejected by examiners if they would not abjure homœopathy. Societies expelled homœopathic members, and even their own allopathic members who met homœopathists professionally. Articles against homœopathy were frequent in the medical periodicals, but no reply was allowed, nor would these periodicals admit any advertisement of a work on homœopathy unless it was against it, and they even refused to advertise a work of any sort written by a homœopathist. Every place and post of honour and emolument was withheld from homœopathists. In short, the whole hostile armoury that was used against homœopathy in Germany was employed against it here with the exception of the apothecaries' weapon, for no law exists in Britain preventing a medical man giving his own medicines, or if such law is on the statute book, it has long been obsolete.

In the United States of America, the bigoted practitioners of the

In France, Bichat (1771—1802) was the first who, although not free from some mistaken theories, sought to direct medical research to facts, and strove to give an anatomical basis to medical science: "Observer la nature, rassembler beaucoup de faits, prendre leur ensemble pour principes.....Qui sommes nous pour nous detourner de cette voie?" "What is the use of observation," he says afterwards, "if we do not know the seat of diseases?"

Among the clinical authorities, Broussais (1772—1838) was one of the first who sought to localise diseases, and strove to refer them to anatomical changes. He fell into the error of referring most diseases to an inflammation—a

old school bound themselves together in an Association, whose chief object was to "boycott" the homœopaths. They formed a "code of ethics" for this purpose. Under this code, the Massachusetts homœopaths were expelled from the State Society; an allopathic physician of New York was expelled from his society for purchasing goods at a homœopathic drug-store; another physician was expelled for assisting a homœopathic practitioner in a difficult labour case, said homœopathic practitioner being his own wife; Dr. Bliss, a Washington allopath, was excommunicated for serving on a Board of Health with a homœopath; Dr. Cox was expelled for consulting with the excommunicated Dr. Bliss; Dr. Van Valzah was dismissed from his lectureship in Jefferson Medical College for trying to save his life with homœopathic medicine after his allopathic physicians had given him up. The existence of this Association, whose bond of union is hatred of homœopathy, has produced complications and difficulties in connexion with the projected International Medical Congress, whereat the allopaths throughout the world, who promised themselves a delightful holiday trip to Washington, are grieving, and the homœopaths everywhere are laughing. A British medical periodical (*The Medical Times*) remonstrates with this American Association for their treatment of the homœopaths, which reminds us of Satan reprobating sin.

In France the old school does not seem to have the same opportunities for exercising oppression on their reforming brethren enjoyed by their colleagues in Germany, England and America, but when a chance occurs we find it as zealously seized on as we could desire. Thus, on the 4th January, 1856, the Anatomical Society of Paris expelled, on account of homœopathic publications, Drs. J. P. Tessier, Gabalda, Frédault and Jousset, and in the same resolution of expulsion, in order to add insult to injury, this high-minded society included the name of a member who had just been condemned by the tribunals for some infamous crime.

gastro-enteritis—which he tried to cure by means of venesection and the application of numbers of leeches; by this means he and his scholars and adherents made away with some thousands of human beings, and, finally, with himself.

The “anatomical school” which was developing itself at this period went to work very thoroughly. Those diseases for which no anatomical substratum could be found in the dead body, *e.g.*, neuralgias, were simply ignored. Percussion and auscultation were brought to perfection by Corvisart and Laënnec. Corvisart employed Auenbrugger’s percussion, and Pierry introduced the plessimeter; Laënnec invented the stethoscope and taught its use. This method

In all the behaviour of the partizans of the old school towards their colleagues of the homœopathic school, what strikes us most is the total absence of that courtesy and forbearance that should characterize the controversies of members of a liberal and learned profession, and which is to be found in their disputes and discussions about other subjects. On what other points of medical opinion would the partizans of one side consider it decent or becoming to call their opponents impostors, swindlers, quacks and liars, to expel them from their societies, to refuse all professional intercourse with them, to defraud them of their diplomas, to bar them from defending their views in the periodicals, to harass them with coroner’s inquests? And yet all these things have been done by medical men to colleagues of equal social rank and education, only because these colleagues held other views on the selection and administration of medicine in disease. It is a curious and unprecedented fact that though the school of traditional, and, as it likes to call itself, “rational” medicine, assailed homœopathy with a bitterness and rancour that has no parallel in the mode of its reception of other systems and other opinions, it has at the same time gradually abandoned almost all the methods of treatment which Hahnemann denounced, and which it declared to be essential, indispensable, “sheet-anchors,” and so forth. Where are now its lancets, leeches, cupping-glasses, setons, issues, actual cauteries, blisters, emetics and mercurial salivation? Thanks to Hahnemann, the school of traditional medicine has now abandoned its traditional methods, and may say with Sganarelle: “Cela était autrefois ainsi; mais nous avons changé tout cela, et nous faisons maintenant la médecine d’une méthode toute nouvelle.” Any one who should bleed now as Hahnemann’s opponents bleed and persecuted him for not doing the like, would be denounced as a dangerous lunatic by that organ of allopathic physic which still retains the name of the instrument of bleeding—*The Lancet.*—[ED.]

of investigation was universally accepted in France and England, while it was but partially adopted in Germany.*

These French ideas were transplanted by the new Vienna school to Germany. Rokitansky, "the father of modern German medicine," as he was called before the adoption of the cellular pathology, brought about the reception of pathological anatomy and developed it; and Skoda and other stood up and taught the physical modes of investigation. The changes effected by disease were observed, but what was the cause of them? Where did they arise? The impetus to pathological processes was given by derangements of the fluids. In what did these chemical changes consist? This was not discovered, and the therapeutic point of attack was wanting. This was the period of nihilism, when it was "scientific" to scoff at the curative power of medicines. With regard to the development of pathological alterations, in 1850 and still later people believed in free cell formation on a structureless base "from free blastema," when a generatio æquivoca had already been rejected in other branches of science. The exudation theory was of great importance in accounting for the occurrence of morbid processes.

Natural philosophy constructed out of disease a special organism, and some of its adherents supposed it to have roots which penetrated the organism and which enabled it to grow and flourish. The natural philosophers encouraged the study of the natural sciences, and in this direction the French school was not without influence.

Kieser, Ph. von Walther and Döllinger were adherents of the school of natural philosophy; and Schönlein was a pupil of the two last; Schönlein founded "exact clinical research." Johannes Müller furnished a firmer and broader basis for physiology.

Virchow was a pupil of Schönlein and Müller. The following is an abstract of his teaching, stated as far as

* J. H. Kopp. *Aerztliche Bemerkungen, veranlasst durch eine Reise in Deutschland und Frankreich*, Frankfurt A/M. Also A. Mühry, *Darstellungen und Ansichten zur Vergleichung der Medicin in Frankreich, England und Deutschland*. Hannover, 1836.

possible in his own clear words :—The human organism is composed of simple minute components called cells, which again may be considered as elementary organisms, for each of these cells possesses inherent vitality and energy, and its power is founded on its peculiar arrangement. The human body is not, therefore, a unit in the strict material sense of the word, but is rather multiple, a sort of federation or state. The single cell within a tissue is not nourished but it nourishes itself, *i.e.*, it absorbs for its own use from the nutritive fluids in its neighbourhood that which it requires. Its nourishment, therefore, both in quantity and quality, is a result of the energy of the cell, and is naturally dependent upon the quantity and quality of the nourishment within its reach. It is by no means obliged to absorb into itself all the nourishment that flows around it. Just as a single cell of a fungus or an alga extracts from the fluid in which it exists just so much and just such kind of material as is necessary to maintain its life, so the tissue cell in the middle of a compound organism has elective faculties, in virtue of which it rejects certain substances and accepts and utilizes others. This is nutrition in the cellular sense. It is not one single power that rules the organism, but its energy depends on the co-operation of various powers. These powers are derived from the individual elementary organisms—the cells. Even the most striking unity in human life, the spiritual *ego*, is not a fixed but a variable quantity. If, in spite of this, the human organism appears to us to be a unit, this is owing to three circumstances : 1st. The arrangement of the vascular apparatus and of the blood circulating in it is on a connected system prevailing through the whole body, which causes a material interchange of the stuffs and a certain dependence of the individual parts on the blood. 2nd. We possess in the arrangement of the nervous system, with which are connected man's highest functions of intellectual activity, a network of branches traversing the whole body and concentrated in the great central masses of the brain and spinal cord. 3rd. The stamp of unity is given to the body by the co-ordination of the innumerable cells. Such tissue coordinations are, *e.g.*, the muscles and the glands. Each of

these arrangements, each of these so-called organs, is a multiple made up of numberless elementary organisms: The nervous system and the blood vessels also are made up of these cellular elements. Every conception of the organism must therefore be superficial, external, so to speak, which does not take account of the elements of which it is composed. If such a conception at first sight appears a breaking up of the body, a disintegration of the manner of regarding it, further reflection shows that these innumerable elements are not placed side by side by chance; they belong to one another on account of their common origin from a simple basic element, and this community of origin causes a certain inherent resemblance and relation of the elementary parts to one another, such as we observe among the descendants from a common stock. They also belong to one another because their existence is interdependent, because the life of one cannot—or can only for a short time—be sustained without that of the others. They are also held together by mutual needs. Just as the vessels or the blood and the nerves influence the other tissues, so they are influenced by them in their turn. Hence a mutual influence is produced which may, according to circumstances, be either beneficial or the reverse to the whole.

The study of diseases must, therefore, be preceded by a knowledge of those parts from which all the activity of the body is derived, *i.e.*, of the cells. Disease is an alteration of the cells. This change takes place according to fixed laws, the same laws as those underlying healthy function. Therefore disease is no foreign existence causing mischief in the body; disease is only unregulated vital activity. Every morbid symptom, every morbid structure, has its physiological prototype, and it is impossible for a pathological form to arise of which the elements are not repetitions of normal processes. The development of the foetus and of the egg may be referred to the same fundamental principles which regulate its subsequent course of life and the morbid disturbances. The diseased structures are distinguished from the normal ones by the irregular mode of their origin and occurrence. This irre-

gularity either consists in the fact that a structure is produced at a point where it does not belong, or at a time when it ought not to be produced, or in a degree that departs from the normal type of the body ; so that it is just as possible to discover the elements of cancer in a normal organism as those of pus. The diseased structures do not always correspond to one single physiological tissue ; thus, for example, a cancer, like a gland, contains cellular elements in alveolæ or canals, surrounded by a stroma of connective tissue supplied with blood vessels. All pathological tissues are produced continuously from physiological tissues.

Blood cannot be looked on as a whole in contradistinction to other parts, it is not a constant, independent fluid on which the mass of the remaining tissues is more or less directly dependent. This is the mistaken view of humoral pathology, which, as regards most of its principles, rests on the hypothesis that changes which have taken place in the blood are more or less lasting. In the doctrine of chronic diseases it was usual to represent the change of the blood as being continuous, and even as being transmitted and maintained by heredity from generation to generation. Blood, as such, does not transmit dyscrasia. The blood is not an independent fluid, regenerating itself from itself, but a fluid tissue, which is in a state of constant dependence on the other parts. Every lasting "dyscrasia" depends upon a permanent accession of injurious substances from certain points (foci), though these localizations are not found everywhere. Every lasting alteration in the condition of the circulating fluids must be derived from individual organs or tissues. There is no such thing as a dyscrasia in which the blood lastingly transmits special changes. There are two categories of dyscrasic conditions—according to whether anomalous morphological components are contained in the blood, or whether the deviation is rather chemical and exists in the fluid parts. As a rule, morphological dyscrasias do not go on without chemical dyscrasias, and *vice versa*. The question what the infectious substance

actually is, whether it is connected with cellular elements or peculiar organisms, or whether it is purely chemical, is a difficult one, and nowhere is rash generalisation more dangerous than here. With regard to the theory of dyscrasia, it is shown that either substances enter into the blood which influence injuriously its cellular elements, and disturb them in their functions, or that substances are brought to the blood from some definite point, whether from outside or from some organ, which, from the vantage ground of the blood, affect the other organs injuriously. Finally, it may happen that the components of the blood are not regularly replaced.

No permanent dyscrasia is possible except by means of some new influence brought to bear upon the blood from some central focus. It follows as a consequence of this that it is important in practice to find out the local origin in all cases of dyscrasia.

By means of the study of pathological and pharmacodynamical phenomena we are driven by necessity to admit the existence of certain affinities between certain substances and certain tissues, relations which can be referred to chemical qualities, in consequence of which certain parts are more fitted to draw certain substances from the surrounding parts, and thus, also, from the blood. Certain substances which enter the blood can induce changes in certain parts of the body, by being taken up into them in virtue of the specific attraction of special tissues to special substances. In almost all cases specific relations exist between the irritable parts and the irritant substances. In all tissues we find that the function depends on the minute change of the contents of the cell or the protoplasm, which probably consists in a slight chemical change in the molecules.

Virchow himself recognises that his theory splits up the body into a complexity of cells; he seeks to keep them together by their "reciprocal action;" but this is not sufficient to explain the organic processes. If we look

at the harmonic movements in the concrete individual, whether vegetable or animal, the transmission of the qualities of parents—even to the slightest peculiarities—which are transplanted from generation to generation; the constantly recurring properties of different genera and species developing themselves from a small cell; if we consider the regular processes of growth which seem to be prescribed to the original cell and maintained within the individual until its final extinction, we are obliged to accept the hypothesis of a transmissible principle of unity which causes the activity of the organism. This fundamental force can only be a component part of common, natural forces. It was formerly called the “vital force,” and everything was referred to it that could not be otherwise explained. By this means an insuperable obstacle was placed in the way of scientific knowledge, which was soon, however, torn down by the inquiring human mind. A school of iatro-mechanists and iatro-chemists arose who made the processes of the organism fit in with the chemical and physical views of the period. These attempts in the primitive state of this science led to the most crude views, which were not satisfying. The conception of a vital force was again introduced, but as it was believed that scientific investigations could not flourish under the empire of the vital force, this has been recently vehemently opposed, and everyone was condemned who accepted the idea of such a fundamental force. Physiologists rushed into the opposite extreme.

In order to maintain this stand-point they went to work in a very radical manner; everything was simply ignored or denied that did not fit in with the system. Physiology puts on one side the discussion of the forces which excite the originating cells to the development of the individual, although this question ought to be the very first. To satisfy the requirements of this system the truth of vital magnetism was long denied. Virchow persisted, up to a recent period, in calling it a false science. Recently magnetism has suddenly become “scientific,” and has intruded itself into university knowledge, and, notwithstanding

Heiderhain's* efforts, refuses to be suppressed. The medical faculties scornfully denied a fact they were not acquainted with, and which they refused to investigate because it did not fit in with their science. They closed their eyes wilfully in order to maintain their own system.

It is the same with the reception of a fundamental force. We are certainly justified in not giving a cordial reception to the idea of a vital force, because it is apt to become associated with mysticism; but we are not justified in simply rejecting it altogether. This is a fault on the part of University medicine which has been a chief cause of their therapeutic fallacies. The abstract term "irritation," has been adopted from Virchow, although it has a wider signification. "The cell is acted on by an irritant." This is an expression that means nothing, but which is daily used without any distinct idea being apparently connected with it.

A second great mistake from which orthodox medicine suffers is, that it is at variance with itself, there is a divergence between doctrine and practice. It says: "In all tissues we find the function principally depending on the minute alteration in the contents of the cell or the protoplasm, which makes it probable that it depends on a chemical change in the molecules." It would be more in accordance with facts if we were to say: "the energy of the cells is influenced by a movement of chemical molecules." Whether it is not rather a daring thing to refer the whole activity of man, the world of his thought and feeling, his memory, &c., to chemistry alone, need not be considered. At all events, according to this view it is the principal object of investigation to become acquainted with the chemical changes. The physical anatomical appearances are primarily the result of chemical processes. Investigation must occupy itself first with chemical processes and then proceed to consider pathological anatomy. Instead of this the reverse takes place. The physical alterations of the cells form the chief object of investigation,

* *Der sog. thier. Magnetismus*, Leipsic, 1880.

and, incidentally, a certain amount of attention is given to chemistry.

Soon after the appearance of the cellular pathology, physical theories forced themselves into the foreground of therapeutics, because investigators were constantly considering the anatomical form of cells and cell groups. Up to that time the effect of iron in chlorosis, for instance, had been explained by the fact that it supplied a constituent that was deficient in the blood ; now the untenability of this theory was proved, and the action of iron was referred to the tonic properties of this metal, and the effect of steel baths was appealed to in confirmation.

A chance discovery of Virchow's, that ciliary movements are excited by alkalis, was sought to be applied to therapeutics, and it was triumphantly used to explain the beneficial effects of mineral waters ; the alleged discovery of the paralysing effect of carbonic-oxide gas upon the nucleus of the red corpuscles (according to the present view there is no such nucleus) was brought forward, and raised hopes that other excitant physical agents might be discovered to act on other cell groups.

It was Virchow himself who chiefly called attention to pathological anatomy, and this is easily explicable by his especial line of study. He thus himself principally contributed to make his theory unfruitful for therapeutics. He did not hesitate to maintain that chlorosis was referable to "defective structure of the heart and large arteries."* According to him "chlorosis" is incurable, and only a temporary benefit can be attained. If Virchow had been a practical physician he would never have made this statement, or would at least have confined it to certain cases. It is, however, characteristic, and we need not be surprised if a tendency to chronic coryza is referred to the anatomical structure of the nose.

Do the anatomical views of pathology agree with the investigations of the physiologists ? What does the physiologist teach ? With all organs he tries to discover, among

* *Ueber die Chlorose.* Berlin, 1872, p. 3.

other things, the influence of the nerves on their functions, and investigates with the greatest minuteness the chemical processes which come into play in the body. Take for example the functions of the spleen, the pancreas and the liver. In the last, for instance, account is taken of the chemical composition of the bile, of the connexion of the constituents of the bile with those of the blood, of the changes that take place in it in certain states of activity of other organs, when certain nerves are irritated, and of the chemical changes attending it in the fæces, urine, blood and saliva. Cells are hardly mentioned.

What is the pathological method of procedure? The greatest importance is attached to the physical changes of cells, little attention is paid to the influence of the nerves, and chemistry occupies a comparatively subordinate position.

Here, then, there is a most obvious want of harmony in the methods of investigation, and this is the fault of the pathologists. They themselves say that chemistry is primary and physical phenomena secondary. According to their own theory, then, they direct their attention to the results of the disease, not to the disease itself. "There is a great gulf in the medical art between knowledge and practice," as Virchow says of allopathy. When such a method of investigation is pursued, it would be remarkable if the case were otherwise.

If there is any prospect, which we doubt, of founding a system of therapeutics on our imperfect physical and chemical knowledge, a greater prominence must be given to chemistry than has been the case hitherto. Certain attempts have been made in this direction, and here we must mention the name of the late lamented Beneke, who, however, did not meet with much attention, especially as his efforts had no therapeutic results, because he, too, started from too crude notions. More recently Baumann, Brieger and E. Salkowsky (these two last under Frerichs and Virchow) have obtained valuable results. The work of Salkowsky and Leube, *Die Lehre vom Harn*, Berlin, 1883, deserves to be mentioned with approval.

These are only the efforts of individuals, they are not general; investigations are not conducted methodically. Then we have the search for "nitrogen," "phosphoric acid," "sulphuric acid," &c., indeed we never feel sure that one of these substances will not crop up in any book we may happen to be reading.

How can such coarse experiments give us an insight into the chemical movements of the organism? Such attempts might be sufficient to discover the value of some article of food, but not to determine the nature of the complicated chemical processes in the organism. Such "investigations" disgrace our knowledge, and show that we are very far from a right appreciation of the importance of chemistry. This is also shown by the fact that even now there are no special professorships of pathological chemistry, which are just as important for medicine as professorships of pathological anatomy.

We seldom or never find among the writings of the allopaths the report of a disease with a satisfactory diagnosis, and yet they receive adequate assistance from the State for their investigations in every direction. If the anatomical changes present have been, as far as possible, ascertained, "scientific" requirements are supposed to be satisfied; if the urine has been tested for albumen, sugar, and "nitrogen," everything has been done. We might expect from orthodox medicine, which is so amply provided with means, the establishment of a chemical, in addition to an anatomical diagnosis, which should make an accurate chemical analysis of all the secretions of the body, such as urine, faeces, saliva, expectoration, sweat, and also if possible the exhalations, and, in the case of animals, the blood, with strict regard to the amount of the ingesta, the temperature and moisture of the air, the state of the barometer, &c., and we should thus enlarge our knowledge of the chemistry of the body in a manner corresponding to the present state of science.

Thus, for example, in patients suffering from fever the urine ought not to be merely analysed for nitrogen in order to calculate from this the amount of urea; but the other

nitrogenous constituents, creatinin, xanthin, hippuric acid, &c., should also be considered. Private medical practitioners can only carry out such investigations with the greatest difficulty; but in hospitals, with the aid of assistants, they could at least be undertaken in each form of disease. Future generations will smile at the perfunctory manner in which we make our diagnosis.

A glance at the text books of general pathology will show us the onesidedness of allopathic views. The best known are those of Uhle and Wagner, of Samuel and of Cohnheim. In all three, chemistry is treated in an extremely step-motherly manner. The well-known results of chemico-pathological investigations are seldom if ever mentioned.

If medicine is treated in such a fashion, the crudest ideas concerning the operations of the organism must prevail. Professor Jürgensen imparts the following instruction to his pupils: "The axle of a wagon, by the concussions it is perpetually subjected to, gradually becomes crystalline, and its weight-bearing power is lessened. In the same manner the construction of an originally powerful constitution may be gradually disintegrated by the labour of life."^{*}

If a university professor, whose duty it is to instruct future physicians in the physiological bases of medicine, and to encourage his students to reflect upon the natural processes of the organism—if such a man plants such crude, mediæval iatromechanical ideas in their young heads, hastens, indeed, to publish such doctrines and spread them far and wide, the mere mention of such a fact suffices to characterise allopathy. Jürgensen's analogy of the wagon axle-tree should be kept constantly before the eyes of the allopaths as a warning.

Jürgensen, in his anti-homœopathic essay, says: "As long as the arrangement of our studies makes it possible for the young doctor, who has learnt without having been taught to think, to enter into practice with the scantiest amount of knowledge, so long will it be likely that he will

soon desert into the ranks of our opponents." Jürgensen may rest assured that as long as such wagon-axle conceptions are taught there is not the slightest danger of the young physician accepting homœopathy.

Latterly, the wildest therapeutic hopes have been founded on the interesting discoveries of bacteria in the seat of various diseases. The bacteria certainly form a very seductive point of attack for the operations of the physician. The indications lie patent to the view, and the therapeutic treatment is very simple. Hitherto, however, the results have not been commensurate with the expectations. In no internal disease, according to the allopathic view, is the point of attack on the bacteria more conveniently situated than in diphtheria. Nevertheless, the results of the allopathic treatment of this disease are pitiful. In Berlin alone, 2000 children die annually from it, which is a large proportion, notwithstanding the confessedly unhygienic surroundings.

The antiseptic treatment of wounds with carbolic acid is cited as an admirable example of the importance of killing bacteria. But there is a concurrence of facts connected with this subject which ought not to be disregarded. Among other things, the temperature is said to be lowered by carbolic acid;* further, it has been observed that carbolic acid and other antiseptics will prevent the escape of the white corpuscles, and therefore they will arrest the progress of inflammation and the formation of pus. It is further manifest, from the researches carried on by the sanitary authorities, that carbolic acid in an oleaginous solution will not destroy bacteria, and yet physicians refuse to subordinate their practice to theory, and believe in an antiseptic action of carbolized oil, although oil in itself is not a suitable dressing for wounds.

It is also worthy of observation that even the much vaunted antiseptic iodoform, even in large quantities, is not able to arrest the decomposition of albumen. Greater attention should be given to the chemical action of the

* Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*, Vol. CXCIV., p. 232.

aromatic compounds on the production of urea in fever and inflammation.

The observations of Rosenberger* and others that septic poison free from bacteria can excite the same infective phenomena as that containing bacteria, have an important bearing on the bacteria question ; indeed, specific septicæmic bacteria make their appearance in the organism which has been infected without bacteria. These septicæmic bacteria thus developed were, according to Rosenberger, produced from the fissiparous fungi present in the normal organism. Of course these assertions require confirmation.

Buchner has observed the transformation of innocent into poisonous bacilli in the hay and splenic fever bacilli, and in spite of the denial of Koch this is confirmed by other observers.

That a hurtful substance introduced into the body is able to increase the number of bacteria normally existing in it, has been established by Rossbach† by his experiments on the effects of papayotin. By introducing this substance into the circulation an extraordinary large number of micrococci is developed in the blood even in one to two hours. This discovery, which has been confirmed by subsequent experiments, affords experimental proof of the fact that a poison, itself free from organisms, is able to increase the lower organisms pre-existing in the body with astonishingly greater rapidity than can be done by an actual infection.

Rossbach justly draws the conclusion "that in true infection the chemical poison or ferment present along with the inoculated organisms is not unimportant." We may add that it is of far more importance than the bacteria, which are only the carriers of the poison, and that this is capable of existing without them.

The hereditary transmission of syphilis is a proof of this. This disease may also be transmitted through parasites. A single spermatozoon is sufficient for conception. This one

* *Centralblatt f. d. med. Wiss.* 1882, p. 65.

† *Ibid.*, p. 81.

seminal animalcule is the carrier of the syphilitic virus, as well as of many other things. The virus appears to be structureless in this case, and indeed, must be infinitely small in quantity.

It is also important to note that the extent and intensity of a morbid process are not always proportional to the number of the bacteria present. It would be rash as yet to pronounce a decided opinion respecting the importance of bacteria with regard to hygiene; it is, however, certain that they will not have the important bearing upon therapeutics which allopaths expect from them. The results hitherto obtained are in the highest degree unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, the attempts in this direction occupy a prominent position. Many have gone so far as to appraise the therapeutic value of medicines according to their ability to kill bacteria, and to deny all medicinal action to substances which are not destructive of bacteria.

Bacterial therapeutics, which played such an important part in the Medical Congress of 1883, is the pendant to the earlier chemical theories before spoken of. We are as much dazzled nowadays by the discovery of bacteria as our predecessors were formerly by the great advances in chemistry caused by Lavoisier's discoveries. Over-hasty attempts were made to utilise them at the sick bed, which were even shared by Alex. von Humboldt. Deficiency and excess of oxygen were the causes of disease, and there were corresponding drugs which were to cure by promoting the production or the absorption of oxygen. There was a germ of truth at the bottom of these views.

Yet, just as we now smile at the naïveté of such physiological conceptions, shall we some day smile at the present attempt to found a bacterial therapeutics, which does not hesitate to attribute the efficacy of cold baths, in part at least, to their effect upon the growth of bacteria, as appears from the reports of the Medical Congresses.

Parasitism, upon which a large proportion of the allopaths now place all their hopes in spite of its signal failure, shows how little confidence they had in their former therapeutics; it further demonstrates that they do not understand

how to appreciate Virchow's beautiful doctrine and, indeed, that they have no clear conception of its importance.

The gist of his doctrine, which no one has ever before expressed with such conviction and supported by such proofs, and from which Hahnemann himself started, is this:—Disease is a physiological process. The inference is: Study the forces which move the healthy organism and are inherent in it, search for the substances with which they are bound up, and make use of these forces for the cure of diseases.

The bacterial craze disregards these fundamental rules, for it regards the processes in the body as of no account; it simply kills the parasites and so cures the patient, unless the latter is killed first; for it cannot be doubted that an agent capable of killing the bacteria would also kill the bacteria's host or seriously injure him.

We observe that in typhus, scarlet fever, measles, &c., the body develops forces which subdue the disease together with the bacteria; the true physiological method of cure would be to stimulate and reinforce these forces in morbid processes.

Virchow's theory, which for more than twenty years formed the basis of orthodox medicine, so much so that Virchow was called "the father of German medicine," has lately been to a great extent abandoned. Whereas it in former years completely dominated the views of all the allopaths, and the latter confidently anticipated that it would effect a beneficial development of medicine and loftily despised all who thought otherwise, a decided opponent to it appeared at the Congresses of Naturalists and Physicians in Munich in 1877 and in Cassel in 1878. Klebs boldly attacked Virchow in Cassel, without for a moment denying the latter's great services to medicine: "The central idea of the whole cellular theory," Klebs declared, "is quite undemonstrated, and is indeed extremely improbable." In the doctrine of the independent activity of the cell, there lay concealed vitalism, which is untenable.

A special cell-force, which resents injuries and carries on a kind of war with the enemy—a cellular vital force—does not exist.....We

cannot recognize the autonomy of the cells as a morbid principle..... Metaplasia of the cells, as described by Virchow, does not occur..... Cellular pathology has not inquired why this or that element should get beyond bounds.

The most important task of medicine is not fulfilled by the cellular pathology ; the latter neglects everything antecedent to cellular changes, and has not succeeded in giving us a knowledge of those morbid processes in which cell-changes do not occur or come on at a later period.

For this reason cellular pathology can develop no rational—i.e. scientific—therapeutics based on a knowledge of the course of the morbid processes.....Amicus Plato, major amica veritas !

We here see an allopath and an admirer of Virchow convinced that his doctrine has been of no service to rational therapeutics, a fact of great significance when we recall the great expectations founded upon it, and the sublime contempt expressed by thorough-going partisans of Virchow for all who differed from them.

Physical investigations are of the greatest importance to surgery. We observe daily with satisfaction the benefits of the great progress it has made, although the application of the same ideas to the province of internal medicine have had a most detrimental action.

Hygiene has also made great and most beneficent progress.

All the more lamentable is the condition of therapeutics. It is evident from what has been said that allopathic treatment, which disregards the active forces, must be merely symptomatic and mechanical. Every-day experience confirms this.

In his *Handbuch der Krankheiten des chylopoëtischen Apparates*,* Leube attributes the beneficial action of Karlsbad, Marienbad and Tarasp to their supposed property of accelerating the evacuation of the injurious contents of the alimentary canal, and deduces therefrom that enough water must be introduced into the diseased bowels to produce many watery stools.

We imagine ourselves transplanted to the last century after we read such stuff. Here are the same crude and coarse ideas respecting the process of cure as were enter-

* I. 2nd Edit., p. 77, Leipzig, 1878.

tained by the old defunct physicians with their stases, obstructions and impure humours. Even on theoretical grounds, every physician must see that if this were the case every purgative would have as good an effect, even if the most superficial observation did not suffice to show him that these mineral waters have a beneficial effect even in doses too small to purge, and that constipation during a course of the waters does not interfere with the cure, and that if the waters are taken in moderation better results are obtained than if the large quantities necessary to establish diarrhoea are taken, and the organism is by this means overloaded and weakened.

The same chimney-sweep ideas are held in connexion with the stomach-pump. This instrument, which is certainly useful in very rare cases, is abused to an extent which shows how dissatisfied the allopaths are with the results hitherto obtained by them in affections of the stomach. Limited at first to dilatation of the stomach and gastric ulcers, it soon became employed in all chronic diseases of the stomach. Zeal was carried to such a pitch that a certain physician complained loudly because his name was not mentioned in connexion with the stomach-pump, though he was one of the first to advocate its use in all cases of catarrh of the stomach. Leube boldly asserted* that: "The immense progress made by clinical medicine in this century is shown in this"—the use of the stomach-pump.

This commendation had hardly been uttered, when voices were gradually raised to expose the error into which medical men had so generally fallen, and by one after another this proof of "the immense progress" of allopathy was consigned to the lumber-room of exploded doctrines.

If the theory of the action of the stomach-pump were correct, every cold in the head should be rapidly cured by blowing the nose frequently and physiology would be naught.

We can excuse the mistakes of individuals, but when

* *Die Magensonde*, Erlangen, 1879, p. 81.

we find the whole profession holding a view quite opposed to physiology like this, we cannot but believe that their entire therapeutic principles have no foundation on physiology.

The same is the case with regard to the pneumatic apparatus, without which no "scientific" consulting-room was complete. At the present time it only plays a subordinate rôle and is only used by a few physicians.

The treatment of pain and sleeplessness, which are so frequently combined, by morphia or chloral hydrate, shows how one-sided and symptomatic is the allopathic method of treatment.

In the majority of febrile affections the therapeutic eye is fixed exclusively on one manifestation of the process, on one partial phenomenon of the disease, that is on the fever. For some years past quinine is the great remedy for all the various morbid processes combined with fever; it is the great febrifuge.

For a period salicylic acid ran it hard; latterly, however, it has been more and more confined to the treatment of rheumatism, but even with regard to this disease, in spite of the tens of thousands of observers, they are not yet, after so many years, in a position to indicate precisely the cases for which it is suitable. It cannot be doubted that salicylic acid is a great gain to allopathic therapeutics in the treatment of this disease, though the allopaths, by their immoderate doses, seem to render doubtful the utility of this remedy.

Before quinine, digitalis had been brought into fashion as the febrifuge par excellence, by Traube and Wunderlich. Quinine, also, is again dethroned, and new usurpers are making their appearance which will obtain the empire over all the fevers. A professor of Erlangen has brought on the *tapis* as the newest, and therefore of course the best febrifuge, oxychinolinmethylhydrure. This drug, which for the sake of brevity he calls kairin, "is able to bring down the temperature to the normal without any evil results."* Therefore this wonderful remedy must be able to

* *Berlin. klin. Wochenschrift*, 1882, p. 681.

cure the most various pathological processes depending upon the most various morbific causes.

As long as the universities are wedded to the delusion that one remedy directed to one manifestation can arrest the morbid action, no valuable achievements are to be expected from them.

Daily experience gives sufficient proof of the superficial and one-sided symptomatic treatment of university medicine.

Another fault that still adheres to ordinary practice, is that of mixing various drugs. Virchow, who has never, like so many of his colleagues, despaired of therapeutics, gives the allopaths the sensible advice with regard to the action of drugs, only to trouble themselves about the "what" and not the "how." Hence he appeals to experience, but he might very well have added the warning of old Professor von Wedekind, given in 1828.*

Physicians may, while continuing their practice of administering mixtures, attain in course of time to grey, even, God willing, to white hair, but they will never gain any experience. But if the example of the homœopaths is able to induce us to give less medicine, to change our remedies less frequently, and never to mix them without special reasons, we shall, by careful observation, some day come so far that we shall, without boasting, possess more practical experience than is now unhappily the case; with what satisfaction shall we then be able to regard the absurdities of the homœopaths.

The virulence of their attacks show that the satisfaction over the "absurdities" of the homœopaths is not great, but all the greater is the mania for mixtures, as the allopathic prescriptions daily show. This is shown not less by the works on prescription-writing, especially that of Waldbenburg and Simon, in which, according to the assurances of the preface, the "best prescriptions" are given; and, in fact, they are almost all long and what the chemists call "beautiful" prescriptions, prettily arranged for the use of medical practitioners. How much these prescriptions are used, is shown by the number of editions through which the book has run; a new one appeared in 1883, edited

* Hufel. *Journ.*, Vol. LXVI., St. 6, p. 4.

by a physician named Ewald and an apothecary named Lüdecke.* The prescriptions are just as long and beautiful as ever.

The best "authorities" are devoted to the practice of giving complex mixtures, which, as Hahnemann told them so often nearly a hundred years ago, always goes hand in hand with quackery. Though now-a-days it is considered necessary to brand Hahnemann as a charlatan, this one merit they should allow him and they might imitate the simplicity of his medicines, for without that exact observation is impossible. They are, however, still far removed from this goal. The most illustrious physicians mix four or five drugs together "scientifically," and thus ally themselves with the quacks; and these are the teachers of the rising generation of medical men.

In order to excuse the practice of compounding, they refer to the composite character of plants and mineral waters. These, however, are quite definite, unalterable compounds of various substances, and have been proved as a whole, and may thus be regarded as individual medicines. The compounder capriciously mixes various drugs, one for each symptom, and is under the delusion that each ingredient of the mixture retains its peculiar action and will reach its proper address like the letters in the Post Office, or he imagines that one remedy will "correct" the other.

The allopaths, at least some of them, give certain drugs, of whose effect they feel certain, simply, as morphia, quinine, salicylic acid (salicylate of soda), and mercury, and thus, as regards some medicines, they already approach the teachings of the great Hahnemann, as they do also in their disuse of blood-letting and the "evacuating method."

* In the Preface they speak of "Rademacher's long prescriptions," which shows that they know nothing about Rademacher's therapeutics, and do not even know the contents of the book they edit. In it Rademacher's prescriptions are given, and they are among the very shortest it contains. This is another proof of the frivolous manner in which allopaths judge of things not belonging to their orthodox system, and of which, on that account, they are quite ignorant.

It is true that they still change their remedies too often and do not allow them to exhaust their full action, and they also commit the still greater mistake of giving them in immoderate doses, thus complicating the natural with an artificial disease.

But a true "rational" scientific allopath is never at a loss; thus the *Aerztliches Intelligenzblatt* recommends in the dangerous injuries to the hearing produced by salicylic acid—not, indeed, a diminution of the dose and to pay particular attention to the peculiarities of individual cases, in order to ascertain where it is suitable—but the administration of secale cornutum in order to diminish the hyperæmia and paralysis of the vaso-motor nerves; it, however, adds that the addition of this drug often produces nausea, retching,* and even vomiting. Another widely-read paper, the *Deutsche Medizinalzeitung*,† considers this discovery of such importance that it gives it to its circle of readers with an approving introduction.

In order to carry out the requirements of "science," morphia should be added to counteract the retching and vomiting of the secale, and it would certainly also be "rational" to counteract the "collateral effects" of this dearly beloved morphia, by giving its antidote atropia by way of a corrigens.

In such a state of "science," it will not be superfluous to glance at some of the "collateral effects" of the allopathic remedies.

Quinine, in medicinal doses, produced gastralgia, paralysis, epileptic fits, deafness, amaurosis, and in twelve cases death.‡

A child six years old, suffering from ague, was given two doses of 3 grs. of quinine, one at two and the other at five p.m. An hour after the last dose it became hot and restless and was seized with convulsions, followed by mydriasis and blindness. It died in three hours.

A man of thirty years of age, suffering from ague, but

* No. 3, 1883.

† *Deutsche Medizinalzeitung*, 1883, p. 511.

‡ Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*. Vol. LXVI., p. 168.

otherwise healthy, took in the space of twenty and a half hours, 52 grains of quinine. An hour and a half after the last dose, he was seized with restlessness, trembling, irregular and shallow breathing, mydriasis, blindness and convulsions. Guersent quotes similar observations by Trousseau and Giacometti in the *Dict. de Méd.*, vol. 26, art. *Quinquina*.

When quinine was given to dogs the following symptoms were produced: restlessness, vomiting, diarrhoea, convulsive movements in the muscles, staggering gait, paralysis of the limbs, vascular excitement, accelerated pulse, difficult breathing, immovable and dilated pupils, loss of sight, convulsions, coma, twitchings, dyspnoea and death.

The necroscopies showed "accumulation of blood in the lungs resembling red hepatisation;" "congestion of the vessels of the brain and its membranes, also, occasionally, of the liver and kidneys;" "patches of congestion in the stomach and intestines;" "the spinal cord more or less congested."

"The poisonous effects of quinine on dogs agree with those produced by it on man."

Dr. Bazire dosed himself to death with quinine, and his wife was rendered deaf and blind for a considerable time by taking $3\frac{1}{4}$ drachms within a short time. Kriquet saw death result, on two occasions, from much smaller doses, and Récamier from 2 ounces taken in 4-grain doses. The author thinks that doses of $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 drachm would be fatal nine times (?) out of ten.*

After $\frac{3}{4}$ drachm of hydrocyanate of quinine, the following effects were observed: "great heat of the whole body, redness and swelling of the face, hard and full pulse, twitchings, redness of the conjunctivæ, widely-dilated pupils, salivation, stammering, convulsions of the upper extremities, embarrassed respiration, anxiety, profuse sweating on the chest, incontinence of urine and emission of semen in a strong man, aged 27," who could with difficulty be saved.

* Schmidt's *Jahrbücher*, Vol. LXIII., p. 16.

After $\frac{1}{2}$ drachm of sulphate of quinine amaurosis came on, and after $\frac{3}{4}$ drachm violent hæmorrhage from the rectum.*

A woman, aged 33, experienced violent cerebral symptoms, with convulsive movements, from $1\frac{1}{4}$ grain of quinine, and a repetition of the dose brought on the same symptoms. Three other similar cases are mentioned.†

After medicinal doses of 6 grains to 1 drachm common effects produced were: Heaviness and sense of fulness, confusion of head, difficulty of hearing, deafness, delusions of vision, vertigo, occasional delirium, in rare cases meningitis and convulsions, still more rarely general collapse.‡

On giving it to three healthy colleagues, 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours after doses of 9 to 12 grains of quinine, there resulted: redness of the face and ears (especially the lobes), sense of fulness and ringing in the ears, as also great injection of the vessels of the malleus—signs, probably, of congestion of the labyrinth.§

By experiments on animals, the fact has been established that quinine produces great hyperæmia and ecchymoses of the mucous membrane lining the internal ear, exudations and destructive processes in the labyrinth, great injection of the meningeal vessels and ecchymoses in the brain.

We not unfrequently meet people complaining of deafness after the administration of quinine. An allopath confirms this in the *Berliner klinische Wochenschrift* (1881, p. 726), where he declares "that he has interrogated people worthy of credit, who asserted that they had become deaf in consequence of the administration of large doses of quinine." The symptoms of quinine-deafness are there described in detail, and bleeding, mercurial ointment, and tincture of iodine are recommended as remedies.

In consequence of an observation of Hardy, that sudden death has followed the administration of quinine in large doses in typhus, Laborde|| undertook physiological experi-

* Schmidt's *Jahrb.* Vol. XVIII., p. 292. ‡ *Ibid*, LXXXI., p. 157.

† *Ibid*, Vol. LXXVII., p. 308. § *Ibid*, Vol. CLXXIV., p. 294

|| *Ibid*, Vol. CXCIX., p. 122.

ments by giving large doses of quinine to rabbits and dogs. Soon after the injection the force of the contractions of the heart increased, and this was followed by weakening of the heart's action ; on renewing the dose the heart's action was again increased ; finally, its force was greatly diminished and trembling movements of it supervened.

" This effect of quinine on the heart, in predisposing morbid states, explains the cases of sudden death in typhus and allied fevers through syncope or paralysis of the heart and respiration."*

Besides quinine, salicylic acid has become a fashionable allopathic remedy, and we see it prescribed in doses of 3 or even 5 drachms (salicylate of soda). Prof. X.† who tried 0.05 to 0.10 gramme doses of salicylic acid several times a day in the diarrhoea of children states : " In most cases in which it was given, sooner or later severe inflammation of the kidneys set in, not seldom accompanied with uræmia and ending fatally. More or less serious collapse was also a common result of its administration."

He further speaks of the injurious effects of salicylic acid in febrile affections, and the following case is narrated : Febrile symptoms made their appearance in a child of five months, the " probable cause of which was inflammation of vaccine vesicles, three of which existed on each arm and which had suppurated." To bring down the fever salicylic acid was prescribed, 15 grains in three doses, to be taken at short intervals ; the child resisted so lustily that only 8 or 10 grains could be given. It immediately became restless, cried loudly, tossed about, &c.

* Physiological experiments by Duméril, Demarquay and Lecointe, with doses of 15 to 30 grains of quinine, caused, first, a decrease of the temperature by some tenths of a degree, and then a rise of 1.3 to 2.2° (Schmidt's *Jahrb.*, Vol. LXXI., p. 288). In two dogs (*Ibid.*, Vol. LXXVI., p. 21), after the introduction of 15 to 30 grains of quinine the temperature rose from 1.5 to 2°. In the same periodical (Vol. LXXVII., p. 358) there is a report of the " quinine fever," in the manufactory of Zimmer in Frankfurt o. M. In one case there occurred a tertian ague, p. 359 : " according to Zimmer the fever comes on with extreme heat or with icy coldness of the whole body, very like an ague."

† Schmidt's *Jahrb.*, Vol. CLXXIII., p. 161.

As a consequence of the medicine, the mucous membrane of the mouth and fauces was eroded as if from the action of lunar caustic ; the child was unable to swallow, and any touch on the mouth, the cheeks and the pharynx appeared to be painful. The child's breathing became much distressed, and it died of the effects of the salicylic acid, as was shown by the cadaveric section (*Ibid.*).

Vertigo, ringing in the ears, even deafness and dyspnœa are mentioned in allopathic works as results of the administration of salicylic acid.

Bride,* e.g., observed complete deafness after salicylic acid ; he found the semi-circular canals of this deafened person completely filled with masses of connective tissue of various thickness.

In the *Berliner klinische Wochenschrift*, 1883, p. 241, it is stated that a lady, after the second dose of one drachm of salicylate of soda, was seized with alarming dyspnœa. Nevertheless the dose was repeated, and violent dyspnœa returned to such a degree that the on-lookers expected her death momentarily ; other symptoms were : giddiness, noise in the ears, systolic heart murmur, weakness of the heart, intermittent pulse and dimness of vision.

Prof. Y.† gave a girl of seventeen, who was suffering from rheumatism, at first $2\frac{1}{2}$, then 3 drachms of salicylate of soda daily. Death ensued on the fourth day. According to the report of the post-mortem examination, the Professor himself said: "There can be no doubt that the fatal issue must be attributed to the salicylate of soda." He, at the same time, adduces a number of cases from medical literature, in which toxic effects were caused by medicinal doses of salicylic acid.

A third drug which has long been fashionable with the allopaths is chloral hydrate. The allopaths thus describe its "collateral effects."

That large doses of chloral hydrate may cause serious poisonous symptoms and even death is shown by a great number of observations

* *Deutsche Medizinalzeitung*, 1883, p. 511.

† *Berliner klin. Wochenschrift*, 1882, p. 709.

made on patients It can be confidently asserted that several people have been poisoned by it in doses within the limits of approved medicinal doses.*

This remark is made by Husemann, who gives the hypnotic dose of choral hydrate as 7 to 30 grains (see his *Arzneimittellehre*, 1875).

Another author† says :

We can, unfortunately, adduce a number of cases which show that even chloral hydrate has dangerous and undesirable collateral effects. It cannot be maintained that in all these cases impure chloral hydrate was given.

A minute account of the cases of poisoning follows.

Further on the following statement is made :‡ “Numerous other examples of the poisonous effects of chloral hydrate might be quoted.” A number of cases is given where the patients were brought to the brink of the grave by the ordinary doses of this substance, and only with difficulty saved.

We also find the report of seven fatal cases following the administration of chloral hydrate to patients who were not suffering from mortal diseases. Death resulted in the case of a woman whom it was intended to slightly narcotise by it for the extraction of a tooth ; she was given 55 grains, and died very soon afterwards. The same happened in the case of a vine-grower of forty-three years of age, “almost instantaneously,” and a notary, aged forty-eight years, died in a quarter of an hour after a dose of $1\frac{1}{4}$ drachm ; a woman expired after taking $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachm in the space of three hours.

“A young lady, twenty years of age, enjoying good health in other respects,” was given 25 grains of chloral hydrate for dysmenorrhœa. At ten o’clock at night she took this dose, and, after a period of excitement, fell asleep to awake in eternity. In spite of every assistance she was a corpse next morning (*Ibid*).

A young man and another patient are mentioned who suffered the same fate (*Ibid*).

* Schmidt’s *Jahrb.*, Vol. CLI., p. 97.

† *Ibid*, Vol. CLIII., p. 140.

‡ *Ibid*, Vol. CLV., p. 146.

A number of striking cases will be found in the *Bayr. ärztl. Intelligenz-Blatt*, 1872. Bd. 19.

In the Congress of Physical Investigation at Freiburg, in 1883, the fact was acknowledged that "literature contains the accounts of many cases in which large doses of chloral caused speedy death directly by paralysis of the heart and blood vessels: the patients fell into a faint, with lowering of the temperature, and could not again be roused." The same speaker also enumerated the symptoms of chronic chloral poisoning: derangements of digestion, skin affections, flushings of the face and head after small quantities of stimulants, great congestion of the conjunctiva and fundus of the eyes, excited action of the heart, impairment of nutrition, severe pains in the limbs and slight psychopathic disturbances. He concluded by describing an attack of fully developed mania in a patient who had been taking morphia and chloral for asthma.

If these facts do not suffice to enable us to judge of the value of allopathic remedies, plenty of further materials of a similar kind will be found in other volumes of this same periodical.

We could also cite numerous examples to show that morphia, chlorate of potash, digitalis, iodine, mercury, &c. in the hands of the allopaths have proved destructive to health and life. What immense quantities of that pernicious drug, mercury, are taken into their bodies by our unfortunate fellow-creatures! Its ravages are often more dreadful than those of the disease. Accidental and artificial cases of mercurial poisoning have shown that inflammations and ulcerations of the mucous membrane, extensive cutaneous ulcerations, caries of the teeth, diseases of the bones going on to ulceration, inflammatory and destructive processes in the lungs, haemoptysis, &c., are brought on by it. The carelessness of the allopaths induces them to give this injurious metal in incredible quantities. To rub in 2½ ounces of mercurial ointment within ten to fourteen days is quite a common event.

The circumstance that the same poison does not act with the same virulence on all people, and may be taken by some

without immediate injurious results, causes the allopaths to forget with what dangerous poisons they are working, though the great observer, Hahnemann, has shown that such perilous doses are unnecessary.

Schmidt's *Jahrbiicher** gives complete information concerning the collateral effects of the much-used chlorate of potash. This drug may produce cerebral inflammations, gastro-enteritis, inflammation of the kidneys and death, as was shown twenty years ago, and as has been fully confirmed by post-mortems in recent years. A great many cases are quoted in which, to be sure, death was generally owing to having taken more than the prescribed doses of this drug, but the liberal manner in which it is prescribed by the allopaths was the chief cause of the catastrophe. At all events, we have here again a proof of the injurious effects of the allopathic doses furnished by the allopaths themselves.

In the same way examples could be easily given of atrophy and albuminuria caused by allopathic doses of iodine, and also of the injuriousness of digitalis and many other drugs habitually prescribed by allopaths. Instead of diminishing, allopathic doses seem to be increasing coincidentally with their crude and symptomatic conceptions. In 1855 it was possible for Virchow to say in his *Handbook of Special Pathology and Therapeutics*,† that "chronic poisonings by means of morphia, or substances containing it, fortunately occur so seldom in Germany that they possess little clinical interest." Now, however, special works are written on *Morphia Poisoning*, *The Treatment of Morphia-Patients*, and prospectuses distributed of "Institutions for the treatment of patients suffering from morphia and nervous complaints," as if the morphia disease were a natural morbid process. All cases of morphia disease may be referred to an allopathic initiative.

We must not forget that these substances, which exert such an energetic action on the body, are given to patients whose systems are already weakened by disease, that the

* Vol. CLXXXVII., p. 14, and CLXXXVIII., p. 12.

† Vol. II., p. 1, p. 291.

sick organism is thus additionally burdened with a medicinal disease, and the task imposed on it of overcoming the medicinal in addition to the natural disease.

In the *Allgemeine Arzneiverordnungslehre*,* we read that "Liebermeister in high fever gives pills containing 0.005 grammes veratrin, one every hour, till nausea or vomiting is produced, for which four to six pills usually suffice."

Such prescriptions remind us of the "science" of the last century. And this is the treatment pursued by a professor who imparts to so many young physicians their therapeutic principles. Older physicians copy these prescriptions, and are thus able to adduce the best authority for their treatment should it turn out disastrously.

In Nothnagel and Rossbach's *Handbuch der Arzneimittellehre* we read :† "Children have died from the effects of 0.001 grammes of morphia"—the quantity calculated to be contained in the opium administered to them. We are therefore advised not to administer opium to very young children. A given dose of opium, however, is said in the same work to have an action equivalent to two-thirds of its weight of morphia.

Professor Seitz recommends, in Niemeyer's *Therapie*,‡ for catarrh of the stomach and diarrhoea in infants, 2 to 5 drops of tincture of opium in 8 ounces of decoction of salep, a teaspoonful every two hours. Niemeyer's book is in the hand of every practitioner, and all young physicians go to it for their therapeutic wisdom. A book so widely read recommends opium in a dangerous dose !

Physiology teaches us that the amount of stimulation is by no means proportional to the intensity of the stimulus. A stimulus liberates a number of forces whose magnitude cannot be estimated by the commercial weight of the agent administered.

Besides the mischief which allopaths do by the size of their doses, their treatment is also inconsistent with the teachings of physiology. Their therapeutic rule, "much

* By Ewald and Lüdecke, Berlin, 1883, p. 687.

† Berlin, 1878, p. 611.

‡ Tenth Edition, 1879, p. 542.

helps much," which is specially illustrated by their endeavour to cure disease by killing the bacteria supposed to cause it, is entirely unphysiological.

If we examine in detail allopathic therapeutics, we shall find full confirmation of these assertions. Let us glance at their treatment of pneumonia, not because we think it specially suitable for deciding on the value of a method of treatment, on the contrary, we consider it utterly unsuitable for this object, but because the allopaths are fond of appealing to this disease to demonstrate the excellence of their system.

Liebermeister and Jürgensen are the great coryphæi of the par excellence "rational" treatment, and as such they received the thanks of the Congress at Wiesbaden. Moreover, Jürgensen spoke of the recent great advances in allopathic therapeutics, and of the great benefit which would be reaped by our descendants. We are therefore interested to know how he treats pneumonia. He lays down his principles in Volkmann's *Sammlung klinischer Vorträge*, 1872, No. 45.

According to him, the physician must keep his eye on the heart and on the fever. "Pneumonia patients die from failure of the heart," p. 326. The cause of the weakness of the heart is the exudation. We would therefore suppose that the process going on in the lungs must be attacked, but no! Jürgensen says we must attack the cardiac weakness and the fever, that is to say, the consequences of the disease. For this purpose he advises cold baths and quinine: "When the fever is high $1\frac{1}{4}$ drachm of quinine may be given to an adult, or 15 grains to a child, under a year old—always in a single dose."

Jürgensen is "strongly of opinion that these are very far from being the extreme limits for quinine. I know that such large doses will appear dangerous to many; my instructress is experience. *Only fools fight against facts.*

Those whose object it is to restore the sick to health must not treat them according to traditions, but when they are once certain in their own minds what is best to be done they will not hesitate to do it." We detect in this the didactic tone of the professor. With enviable coolness he calls his experience "facts," and stigmatises as "fools" those who do not agree with him.

"Not unfrequently" vomiting follows the administration of quinine. If it comes on soon, the dose must be repeated, and "when there is periculum in mora we should not hesitate, but should rather give too much than too little." Moreover, the patient, after taking the quinine, should keep the mouth open "in order to get rid of the excessive secretion of saliva," and thereby "perhaps obviate" the vomiting.

"Tartar emetic and veratrin lower the temperature at the expense of the heart, both induce collapse."

In Niemeyer's *Therapie** veratrin is strongly recommended. "We must, however, bear in mind," says Professor Seitz, "that the desired effect can only be attained by the administration of doses large enough to produce of slight toxic effects—vomiting, diarrhoea, great prostration." Veratrin is nevertheless recommended, for diarrhoea; vomiting and great prostration are only "slight" phenomena to the scientific physician. We are therefore actually recommended to induce these "slight" toxic effects, otherwise "the desired effect will not be attained."

Seitz maintains (*I.c.*) that digitalis should be "extensively employed" in pneumonia, and Jürgensen states that "Every one who has had much experience with digitalis, and has given it in effective doses, must have observed that the collapse following its administration has coincided with the defervescence," p. 336.

Prof. Husemann† writes :

While some decades ago hardly a case of pneumonia was conducted to a favourable or a fatal issue without the administration of digitalis

* Edited by Prof. Seitz, 1874, I., p. 197.

† *Arzneimettellehre*, 1875, II., p. 920.

with or without nitre and tartar emetic, the use of preparations of digitalis is now becoming much less frequent.

This drug is now greatly superseded by quinine. Jürgensen prefers quinine "because it does not affect the heart injuriously." Only fools fight against facts, nevertheless we venture to quote the opinions of other men, with whom Jürgensen may fight it out. Schmidt's *Jahrbücher** quotes a number of experiments on dogs, showing that quinine, in doses of 30 grains, has a depressing effect on the heart's action, and, in the same work we read:† "Its poisonous effects on dogs agree with those on human beings." On page 401 further observations on the action of quinine are detailed, according to which much smaller doses than those given by Jürgensen produced highly injurious effects, and here young and old physicians are advised to give such large doses in such a dangerous disease.

If there is sleeplessness in a case of pneumonia, morphia and chloral hydrate are the panaceas. Jürgensen gives chloral hydrate in doses of $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 drachms.

We have just seen that $1\frac{1}{4}$ drachm of chloral hydrate, and indeed even 1 scruple has caused death in diseases not of a serious character. Jürgensen recommends doses up to 2 drachms. With what ideas are the young physicians of to-day turned loose upon suffering humanity by such professors!

Jürgensen writes on page 340, with regard to the diet of pneumonic patients: "In every severe case, I insist upon the patient taking strong beef tea once or twice a day in table-spoonfuls, with one to two eggs. Also a quantity of milk, which is to be determined separately for each case, according to circumstances." Besides this, alcoholic drinks play a prominent part. In certain cases this may be advisable. Dogmatism is, however, here out of place, the patient should not be imperatively required to eat under all circumstances. If this is done the physician will dis-

* Vol. LXXXI., p. 155 and 156.

† Vol. LXIII., p. 16.

order the patient's stomach and aggravate his malady. Milk is a two-edged sword. In many healthy people it causes catarrh of the stomach; nevertheless, it is theoretically easily digested, and it is frequently prescribed without sufficient caution.

Before recommending milk the physician should always inquire whether the patient could take it when he was well, and prescribe it or not accordingly. But this is playing too humble a part; we issue our commands and they must be obeyed.

To combat the cardiac weakness: Port wine, madeira, sherry, champagne, hot grog made with brandy, rum, or whisky, strong coffee or tea, camphor and musk—here we have Brown over again, though the words *sthenia* and *asthenia* are not used. On pages 345 and 346 Jürgensen holds forth on the subject of venesection. We are only interested in noting that it is again found to be indicated at the present day.

If dyspepsia occurs during convalescence, cinchona and iron are prescribed: "We begin with one pill, and increase the number proportionately to the degree of dyspepsia present," p. 349. This is beyond all doubt "scientific." The more intense the disease the more ferocious the attack, the weaker the stomach the stronger the dose. Much helps much!

"If absorption is slow, I cannot sufficiently urgently recommend oleum terebinth. to your notice," twelve drops six times a day!

This is the only remedy alluded to for this state, and Jürgensen cannot sufficiently urgently recommend it. We cannot believe that this professor has ever tried the effect of twelve drops of this drug six times a day on his own healthy body, otherwise he would certainly not prescribe it for debilitated patients in such doses.

How far in advance of these physicians was Hahnemann in this respect!

Where absorption is slow, the stomach is usually in such a condition that it will not tolerate the twelve drops of turpentine six times a day. "But in that case we can

give quinine and iron," an allopath would rejoin. This is true enough, therefore "rational" medicine from prudential motives must add to the oil of turpentine iron and quinine. Nephritis is not an infrequent complication of pneumonia, but Jürgensen does not mention it; it is well-known that oil of turpentine causes symptoms of irritation of the kidneys. Jürgensen should not have omitted to mention this circumstance to his pupils when he recommended oil of turpentine.

At the commencement of his essay, Jürgensen says that the patient and not the disease must be treated, and wherein does this individualisation consist? The degree of intensity of the disease must be observed and a stronger or weaker dose given accordingly.

The proof of the propriety of this therapeia is afforded by statistics which show a mortality of 12 per cent. Later accounts* give a mortality of 12.7 per cent. The statistics given by Professor Hasper of the treatment of cholera by venesection are, however, still more favourable, viz.: out of 100 treated for cholera by bleeding, one died! Jürgensen appeals to his hearers. This was also done by the advocate of bleeding, Professor Bischoff.† The latter treated 197 "inflammations of the lungs," only ten of whom died, i.e., 5 per cent., of these ten, four had phthisis, and three died "in consequence of errors in diet." "In 26, moderate antiphlogistic measures, either alone or combined with leeching, sufficed; in all the others (not excepting the peri-pneumonia notha of Sydenham), venesection, regulated in amount by the degree of violence of the inflammation, was practised, and, indeed, in some cases repeated three to six times, and leeches were often applied in addition." "All his hearers were witnesses of these results."

A remarkable event happened to this same Professor Bischoff afterwards in Vienna, which had an entirely "unscientific" issue. In the first comparative trial of homœopathy, three cases of pneumonia were taken. One was left to

* Jürgensen, *Croupöse Pneumonie*. Tübingen, 1883, p. 257.

† *Ansichten über das bisher. Heilverfahren*. Prague, 1819, p. 129.

nature, the second was treated "scientifically," and the third, homœopathically. The last became convalescent in five or six days ; the scientific patient was confined to bed for many weeks, and nature was very slow in restoring the third. This was the result of chance, says Simon,* and he adds :

I say, si fabula vera, for I can hardly believe that a comparative therapeutics can be made in such a futile manner. How can three cases treated in different ways decide anything? Many thousands of cases treated during many years would be required, and also exact observations under the most various conditions and in the most diverse individuals.

Who will not admit the truth of this? We must, however, ask where have these thousands of observations—required in order to judge of homœopathy, which are necessary according to the allopaths themselves, in order to decide the question—been carried out?

If Jürgensen were as imprudent as his late colleague Bischoff, we are very much afraid he might encounter a similar mischance.

Jürgensen says on p. 333 :—

My experience justifies me in asserting that in pneumonia the direct abstraction of heat is permissible. I am fortunate enough to be able to adduce the important testimony of Liebermeister, whose mortality with purely anti-pyretic treatment was reduced from 24.4 per cent. to 8.8 per cent.

We should like to know how these 24 per cent. who died were treated. Major's dissertation,† quoted by Jürgensen, unhappily gives no information on this point. It states, pp. 3 to 5, that from 1839 to 1867, in the Basel Hospital, 24.4 per cent. of "true acute pneumonias" died. The proportion remained the same during each decade ; indeed, between 1863 and 1868, of 200 hundred pneumonia cases 54 died, i.e., 27 per cent!

We saw above, on p. 220, that in the first experiment of Dietl, 20 per cent. died under venesection and tartar emetic, while only 7 per cent. died under dietetic treatment. Later, in 1852, Dietl, who had been violently attacked, published a

* *Antihom. Archiv*, 1834, Vol. II., p. 127.

† *Ueber die Behandlung der acuten croupösen Pneumonie*, Basel, 1870.

further series of experiments.* He treated 750 expectantly; 69 died, *i.e.*, 9.2 per cent. In this instance no selection was made, but all cases of pneumonia were counted, even if it were only a complication of some other complaint.

By these statistics we are forced to the following reflection: among the 24.4 per cent. who died, 15 per cent. were victims to science.

Further: The results of the "purely anti-pyretic method" are of no value as proofs of its success, and the "weighty authority of Leibermeister" is, after all, only a feather-weight. The only thing affected by it is a diminution of the number of sacrifices to "science."

Page 332: Jürgensen confesses that the cold bath may be the direct cause of death. The other measures of this clinical instructor are also acknowledged to be dangerous. His own statistics, in the face of the obviously dangerous character of his treatment, cannot be adduced in his favour; besides, they are less favourable than those of Dietl.

For this reason it is not permissible to imitate Jürgensen's dangerous experiments.

In 1882 there met in Wiesbaden the "*Congress for Internal Medicine*," the object of which is to rescue internal medicine from being absorbed by surgery and the specialists, and to protect the idea of the unity of the human organism from the threatened disruption and disintegration. The president, Frerichs, energetically repelled all dictation by pathological anatomy, chemistry and experimental pathology, and maintained that everything must be decided by individual judgment and experience. The proceedings of this Congress might well be looked forward to with intense interest, for pretty nearly all the members of the allopathic world who have any claim to be considered authorities took part in it.

* Schmidt's *Jahrb.*, Vol. LXXVI., p. 30.

We were told all kinds of things we did not want to know, but no mention was made of what it was essential to know, viz., what methods of investigation should in future be adopted; we were only told that every one must be guided by "his own individual judgment and experience."

If we examine the reports of the proceedings more closely we shall find them interesting, as giving us a glimpse of some of the modern allopathic ideas and achievements.

The order of the day on the third occasion of its meeting was "Anti-pyretic methods of treatment."

That such a theme should be put forward in such a manner shows conclusively the superficial symptomatic and unphysiological nature of the treatment of the modern allopathic school. Liebermeister, in fact, only speaks of the "fever" which must be combated by cold baths, quinine or salicylic acid. What the morbid process may be upon which the fever depends does not seem to be of the slightest consequence. The only thing to be attended to is the degree of the fever.

Riess says he will not waste words upon "the evidence in favour of the usefulness of an anti-pyretic treatment of fever," because he is sure that the majority of his audience have long been convinced on this point. Absolutely nothing is said about the cause of the fever; it is quite a secondary matter what the disease is which produces the fever.

He proceeds to speak of anti-pyretic treatment in general, "of the danger of the febrile elevation of the temperature," not of the character of the morbid process, with which the sentence immediately following is in naïve contradiction: "It is evident that there is no parallelism between the height of the temperature and the intensity of the disease." In proof of this he gives some instances of relapsing fever and typhus. We confidently expect the only logical deduction from this: therefore not the fever, but the morbid process, must be the point against which our treatment must be directed. But instead and in spite of this, he recommends quite in a general way "internal

anti-pyretics," and especially salicylic acid, together with cold baths. According to Riess, salicylic acid acts better than the quinine recommended by Liebermeister. "The treatment of typhus is the best test of the value of anti-pyretic remedies." In typhus,* where there is inflammation and ulceration of the intestinal canal, doses of $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachm of salicylic acid are recommended. Let the reader refer to the effects of salicylic acid mentioned above on pages 401-402. He has also employed the salicylic acid treatment in pneumonia and phthisis. Here, again, the anti-febrile method of treatment is spoken of in quite a general manner. In conclusion, Riess says that the parasite theory will not abrogate symptomatic therapeutics, and will certainly not diminish the importance of "anti-pyretic treatment."

Jürgensen is not satisfied with salicylic acid ; it takes away the appetite and produces disagreeable cerebral symptoms. In severe typhus he gives "light Bordeaux wine up to two litres a day." The baths must be given quite cold—the colder the better. "But the public do not take to these cold baths, it is said. Last year I treated the only child of a fellow practitioner in a severe attack of typhus. Father and mother gave the child cold baths, and they both admitted that the cold baths of only four minutes' duration were a real boon to themselves and to the child." He also agrees with Brand, who holds the view that the great abstraction of heat prevents the further development of the typhus-germ in the body, and Liebermeister thinks the same. We cannot help asking ourselves whether the complex human organism is to be regarded merely as an incubating stove for parasites, without any reactions caused by the character of the disease and the individuality of the patient? Jürgensen concluded by speaking quite generally of "anti-pyresis," "at the head of which the cold water treatment must always be placed."

* We may remind our readers that what we call typhoid or enteric fever is usually spoken of in Germany as "abdominal typhus," or curtly, "typhus."—[ED.]

Curschmann is also in favour of cold water, but he prefers quinine to salicylic acid.

Binz discusses the question whether the anti-pyretic treatment can be considered a causal treatment, whether it is able to kill the fever-poison in the organism. He answers it in the affirmative. Salicylic acid diminishes the duration of rheumatic arthritis to as many days as it formerly lasted weeks. (Whether his whole audience believed him is not reported.) This can only be explained by supposing that it destroys the poison of the disease. The same happens in the treatment of syphilis with mercury. Binz spoke afterwards of the earlier views of the Vienna school. "It said: We are not able to cure a disease; the patient is only an object for observation, and it is at most a triumph for us if we can verify our diagnosis on the dissecting table."

Binz enacts here the part of the *enfant terrible* of the first Congress for Internal Medicine.

Gerhardt is "fully convinced" that the anti-pyretic treatment is the greatest advance made in the whole domain of internal therapeutics.

At the Congress of Physical Investigators at Freiburg in 1883, Liebermeister says emphatically: "The anti-pyretic method has justly been called one of the greatest advances which have been made in therapeutics in recent times," but he speaks of the method itself as "expectant—symptomatic." This expression will be regarded 50 years hence very much as we now-a-days regard the pæans of praise that used to be sung to the glorification of venesection."

To return to the Wiesbaden Congress. Seitz observed that it would be interesting to discuss the question how much anti-pyresis was able to effect in different febrile diseases. Here at last we meet with a physician who at least thinks individualization necessary, though he, too, speaks of anti-pyresis generally and not of the morbid process.

Rühle was emphatically of opinion that the anti-pyretic method had spread routine treatment among the "medical public." "This had had an injurious effect on our scientific position which it should be our task to regain."

We willingly subscribe to this opinion ; but by bringing forward and discussing in such a manner themes like "anti-pyretic treatment," routine, not science, is honoured. It is not science. Fifty years ago the peasant Priessnitz possessed science of this description. Neither is it science when Rühle recommends the administration of calomel in typhus in order to "excite the liver, which is used as a dépôt by the typhus poison, to energetic action, in order that at the same time a portion of the injurious matter may be removed." We seem to be listening to a disciple of Maximilian Stoll in the year 1782, not to a professor of internal medicine at a Medical Congress in 1882.

Liebermeister defends himself from the imputation of routine. "The anti-pyretic method was on the programme for to-day, and that is why we have discussed it only." This fact, we repeat, is amply sufficient to justify us in designating the allopathic a routine treatment. When Liebermeister adds that this method is not used in the treatment of syphilis, this far-fetched justification is completely against himself. He proceeds to say that they (the allopaths) would be happy to treat typhus, scarlet fever, and other diseases with specifics, "but for the present that is, alas ! only a pious wish." The same is the case with regard to the parasitic theory. "We should like very much, only we cannot." There is a very good reason for this, Binz and his quinine and salicylic acid notwithstanding. The allopaths are searching just where nothing is to be found.

This characteristic discussion was concluded by repeated expressions of satisfaction that there was a perfect unanimity on this subject, and that this proved the unity of opinion among them on therapeutic questions. But this unanimity was only with respect to the treatment by cold water. Who was it that introduced the systematic employment of cold water ? The laymen Oertel and Priessnitz, more especially the latter, who treated patients in this way many years ago, and was on that account attacked by the allopaths in the manner peculiar to them, with which the reader has already been made sufficiently acquainted. If it had not been for these two laymen it is very doubtful

whether there would have been this wonderful unanimity over which there was so much jubilation.

We should have therefore expected that this Congress would have paid their debt of honour to these laymen, considering the vile manner in which they had formerly been attacked by the allopaths, and that they would at least have said a few words in grateful remembrance of these men to whom they were indebted for their present unanimity.

We may remind our readers that this was not the first allopathic medical congress in which uniformity of opinion concerning therapeutic measures prevailed. The same unanimity was repeatedly observed fifty years ago, in just as numerously attended allopathic assemblies, namely, when the employment of bleeding in cholera was held to be scientific and necessary (see above, p. 246).

The means of judging of the value of a therapeutic method will be supplied by the answer to this question: What is the termination of a morbid process if left to itself without any interference by medical art? This question was answered on a large scale by Dietl 33 years ago, who had a mortality of 9 per cent. under dietetic treatment in the same disease in which the "anti-pyretic" treatment showed a mortality of 12 per cent., *i.e.*, 3 per cent. more than the expectant treatment.

If, when diseases in general are considered, these numbers may require some alteration, which will certainly not be to the advantage of orthodox physic, they still furnish very remarkable material on which to form our judgment. Contemporary allopathic therapeutics lies under the same ban of symptomatic treatment as did bleeding. Suppose we have a patient suffering from pneumonia; he is gasping for breath and feels stabs as from knives, due to the accompanying pleurisy, at each cough, at each respiration. He prays for relief. We open a vein, the blood flows, and all at once the picture changes—the stabbing pains are ameliorated, the breathing freer, appetite gradually returns. The physician who, in the opinion of the ignorant, has saved the patient from death by his energetic interference

receives looks of gratitude from his patient, who, if he had been let alone would have recovered his health in a short time, but now perhaps will pine away, having received from his "saviour" the impetus which will throw him into pulmonary consumption.

The physician only attended to one symptom, and recklessly directed his efforts to its removal. He overlooked the fact that all the patient's strength should be husbanded in order to overcome the disease, and that every new source of weakness should be carefully warded off from the patient, who was already sufficiently weakened by the disease. The symptom was kept in view, but the actual disease overlooked; the symptom, the result of the disease, was combated instead of acting directly on the proximate cause of the symptom, the focus of the disease, and thus the morbid process was involuntarily promoted.

Those who advocate "anti-pyresis" labour under the same mistake. The results of diseases, fever and cardiac weakness, are the points of therapeutic attack. In order to attain their object they are obliged to set up a new, alien drug-disease, in addition to that naturally present. Quinine is said to strengthen the heart; we have just seen that in the course of the action of quinine this increased activity is followed by a state of depression, which after a fresh dose again goes off, but afterwards gives place to still greater weakness. By such and similar treatment the diseased process does not pursue its course alone, but is reinforced by an artificial disease; and yet the "first authorities" among the allopaths meet and congratulate themselves on the "great advance" made in therapeutics by the introduction of the anti-pyretic treatment, which has sent more human beings to the shades below than would have gone if nature had been left to herself!

Can we have any respect for such "science?" Is it a crime to turn one's back on such and similar plans of treatment, or to seek for something better than this miserable unphysiological therapeutics?

The inexplicable phenomena of animal-magnetism were, till recently, denied and declared to be "unscientific" by

the universities. There was perhaps not present at the Congress a single medical man, who, a few years previously, would not have called any man who was convinced of the existence of this remarkable power, a mystic, an ignoramus, an unscientific enthusiast, a duped impostor, &c.

If we wished to enumerate all the opprobrious epithets applied to Mesmer, the simplest way would be to mention those that had *not* been applied to him.

In Wiesbaden several physicians spoke of animal magnetism and its therapeutic value without meeting with any opposition. Thus the truth was acknowledged of what, from prejudice and arrogance, had been rejected for many decades ; here, at all events, we see progress.

Whom have we to thank for this ? The itinerant magnetiser Hansen. It is demonstrable that it was owing to his public appearances that a repetition of his experiments was first undertaken in "scientific" circles. Hansen was assailed during his tour by innumerable and virulent insults, the instigators of which were directly or indirectly the allopaths. If no public reparation is due to Hansen, at all events the manes of the physician Mesmer should be considered. But we shall look in vain for the confession of past errors or the expression of gratitude to unorthodox physicians from the adherents of "scientific medicine."

Both the Congresses for Internal Medicine, that of 1882 and that of 1883, bear witness to the restless diligence and profound spirit of inquiry which prevail at our universities ; but we are rudely awakened from the feeling of joyful admiration with which we follow the interesting investigations and deductions when we come to the subject of therapeutics.

The crudest conceptions of the processes going on in the organism seem to be made the basis of the plan of treatment.

Thus a physician gives, at this Congress, the advice to

consumptives "to eat as much as possible." "The chief task of the medical man in the treatment of consumption is to stimulate the patient's appetite by every device known to cookery." The same adviser approves of the plan adopted by other physicians of introducing food into the stomachs of tuberculous patients by means of the stomach-pump. No sensible physician would entertain the idea that a consumptive patient must eat as much as possible. A truly rational physician will inquire into the condition of the digestive functions, and carefully regulate the food in accordance with the digestive powers and the character of the disease, giving the advice, not to starve, but also not to eat if there is no appetite; because to do so, especially in the case of a debilitated person, is the sure way to derange the stomach, and because our life is maintained by what is assimilated, not by what is eaten. But the allopathic axiom is "much helps much." What a pitiable state of allopathic therapeutics is revealed by the assertion that the main business of the medical art is to make consumptives eat as much as possible. And to force down nourishment with the stomach pump! Its employment in a consumptive patient already weakened by the disease, could not fail to produce serious derangements of the stomach. The most ignorant peasant would not act upon such crude principles when fattening his geese by cramming them, and yet in this case he has a healthy stomach secreting normal gastric juices from a healthy body to deal with. It would not be easy to find a peasant who would cram a sick goose with food in order to restore it to health.

The general agreement upon the subject of anti-pyretic treatment, about which there was so much mutual congratulation in 1882 fell to pieces in 1883, when the treatment of diphtheria was discussed.

Gerhardt says, "Chlorate of potash is a pure matter of faith held by few persons," and he recommends papayotin and chinolin. His next statement is remarkable: "I cannot refrain from mentioning my own experience that the employment of a strong solution of carbolic acid seems to keep up diphtheria, and I have seen cases rapidly recover

when the carbolic acid that had till then been employed was discontinued."

This opinion is not without significance when we reflect that for many years the orthodox treatment has been such an employment of carbolic acid through the entire course of the disease, and that it has been enforced upon young medical men on theoretical grounds, and has been so generally adopted that the great majority of physicians have practised it and do still practise it, though not quite to such an extent as before; and when we remember that the greatest reproaches were cast upon the homœopaths for their neglect of this treatment.

Heubner assailed the treatment of diphtheria by local applications, though this was regarded as one of the most important measures by the allopaths since the first appearance of the disease, and was and is employed by the majority of doctors; he maintains that the organism must be disinfected by the administration of internal remedies. The ordinary drugs, according to Heubner, did not at all fulfil this object, "I recall to mind the disastrous trials of chlorate of potash, pilocarpin, oil of turpentine, &c."

Jürgensen was of opinion "that all impurities should be removed," but not by means of coarse caustics; all general disinfection was useless; the indication was "to fortify the system as much as possible."

Heubner replies: "What Jürgensen says is certainly very rational, but it is expectant therapeutics which, as has been shown, cannot effect very much;" nevertheless it is "very rational."

Leube confesses that for ten years he has cauterised strongly at the commencement.

Gerhardt says that by producing anaemia of the mucous membrane by the application of cold, the soil is rendered less favourable for the growth of the morbid organisms. As, however, according to Heubner, the author of the prize essay on diphtheria, the organisms are dispersed through the whole body, it follows that the whole body of the patient would have to be packed in ice for twenty-four hours.

In short, treatment more grotesquely varied was never suggested by a party of neighbours and gossips assembled round a sick friend on a Sunday afternoon than was recommended at this Congress by the foremost allopathic "authorities," except that the proposals of the former would not be nearly so injurious as the privileged "modes of treatment."

If we pass in review the remedies recommended for diphtheria alone during the past 15 years, from assiduous cauterization with nitrate of silver and insufflation of sulphur to papayotin and chinolin, we shall obtain an interesting insight into allopathic practice. Every year fresh remedies! First one drug and then another comes into fashion, and on the introduction of each new remedy, the old ones, however much they may have been commended, are contemptuously rejected, and all the bad results ascribed to them.

How irrational is it to apply caustics! We think it necessary to preserve from mental excitement patients who are dangerously ill, as its injurious effect is well known; and yet a wretched child who does not understand the object of the treatment, is thrown into paroxysms of terror two or three times a day, so that it cowers in its bed and regards with apprehension every one who approaches it. If a healthy child, or even a grown man, were kept in such terror for days and nights, we should see what baneful effects such treatment would have upon them.

Again we ask: Is it a crime to reject such "science?" Is it not rather the duty of every medical man to inquire whether there may not be something better than what the universities are able to offer? Is it not clear that there must be here some important external hindrances which prevent medical men from learning a better way, and from refraining from participation in the therapeutics of such representatives of science?

Is not the existence of these external hindrances made still more apparent, when we observe how every now and then even the followers of allopathy themselves express in decided terms their dissatisfaction with the present state of therapeutics, as is well shown by the extract given above from the *Wien. medic. Wochenschrift*, at p. 369.

In Volkmann's *Sammlung klinischer Vorträge*, another allopathic critic says (1878; No. 139): "When they [the allopathic school] attempted to substitute for the old a new, exact, so-called rational system of therapeutics based upon strictly physiological or anatomico-pathological foundations, they inevitably made a fiasco." "The Vienna school, acting in a decidedly logical manner, was compelled to confess that there is not and cannot be a therapeia resting on a scientific basis." "Every plan of treatment has, in a short time, had to give place to another."

On p. 18 this allopath concludes that the results of the allopathic therapeutic investigations have been "almost entirely negative and of a disheartening character."*

* I may be allowed to say a few words with respect to the state of orthodox medicine in this country. All that the author says about the uncertainty of therapeutics, the frequent changing of medicines, the giving of mixtures, and the prescribing according to imaginary pathological conditions in Germany, is applicable to most of the medical practice of Britain; but there are certain differences in other respects which deserve to be noted. Thus the bacteria-craze does not seem to have taken such hold of the medical mind in this country as it has in Germany and France, except in the domain of surgery, but even there it seems to be dying out. The antiseptic treatment, which Lister borrowed from Déclat and pushed to such extreme lengths, has certainly done some good by introducing greater attention to cleanliness as regards surgical instruments, and care in the dressing and after-treatment of wounds, but its exaggerated employment which at first took the medical world by storm, is now manifestly declining, and "Listerism," so-called, has been completely abandoned by some of our most eminent and successful surgeons. The anti-pyretic treatment by ice-cold baths in cases of elevated temperature has been but little used in this country, though quinine, salicylic acid and kairin are extensively employed to cause defervescence. The stomach-pump treatment, which for a time found such favour in Germany, is little practised here. Under the influence of Ringer, who has exhibited wonderful powers of research—in homœopathic literature—and has "conveyed" many of our medicines and methods into allopathic therapeutics, a kind of bastard homœopathy has attained a certain amount of assent among our orthodox medical brethren, and has met with much commendation from the periodical organs of medical orthodoxy; so that Ringer's book, which is to a

CONCLUSION.

Since the foundation of homœopathy, the point of hostile attack has been constantly shifted. At first it was opposed by Brown's adherents, the natural philosophers, chemical theorists, the crude views of the advocates of bleeding and purgatives, which would not now be defended by any "scientific physician."

Then appeared the anatomical and that after the Vienna school, which, as was stated by a professor at the Medical Congress of 1882, held that: "We are not able to cure a disease, the patient is only an object for observation, and it is at most a triumph for us when we can verify our diagnosis on the dissecting table."

great extent a *réchauffé* of homœopathic treatment modified to meet the prejudices of old-school practitioners, has rapidly passed through ten editions, and we can hardly take up an allopathic prescription without seeing how much its construction has been influenced by Ringer's second-hand homœopathy. Desultory attempts are occasionally made to rehabilitate the old and discarded method of bleeding, but these have met with little encouragement even from the periodical which takes its name from the instrument of venesection. England still retains its partiality for purgatives of the strongest kind, and if these are not prescribed by the profession with such a liberal hand as formerly, they are enormously consumed by the population. Medicines which allay pain and cause sleep are also in great vogue. A sure way to fame and fortune seems to be to invent some new purgative water, pill, powder or lozenge, or to introduce some new hypnotic or anti-neuralgic, and the most convincing evidence of the mischief caused by the incautious use of these dangerous remedies, seems to have no effect in diminishing their popularity. Experimental physiology is as popular here as it is in Germany, and is pursued with unwearying zeal in spite of obstructive Acts of Parliament and notwithstanding the insignificant gains to therapeutics that have hitherto resulted from it. The whole medical profession is persuaded that its labours will ultimately prove of immense value to therapeutics. But here as elsewhere these labours have been almost exclusively in a wrong direction. Experiments with drugs on mutilated dogs and cats, on rabbits' eyes and enucleated frogs' hearts, can throw little or no light on the therapeutic value of drugs on man, and yet we see big books published with attempts to found a therapeia on such unsuitable data, though Hahnemann's *Fragmenta*, which shows how drugs

This school was forced to give way to that of cellular pathology, on which it was sought to build a cellular therapeutics. With what pleasing expectations were the foundation stones laid! but its basis was unsound, and at the Science Congress of Kassel in 1878 it was stated that "the most important task of medicine, therapeutics, is not advanced by cellular pathology." Biology, too, which some hoped would be ingrafted on the minds of medical men through the cellular doctrine, has had very little effect.

At present bacteria are relied upon to draw the therapeutic cart out of the mud. In the Congress for Internal Medicine of 1883, it was stated that there are only four remedies capable of destroying bacteria,—quinine, iodine, mercury and salicylic acid. "These facts have not, however, been ascertained by methodical scientific research, but by crude empirical methods." "The idea would be

should be tested, was published in 1805. When our physiologists make their experiments on the human subject they are unable to utilize the results in consequence of their obstinate refusal to make use of the only key that makes them available for therapeutics. But if their own school can make no use of their labours for want of this key, they are eagerly seized upon by the homœopathic school which possesses this key, and at once incorporated in its *materia medica*. And thus the Jörgs, the Böckers, the Harleys, the Ringers, the Murrells and the Bruntons have the mortification of seeing that while their achievements in medicine-proving are useless to their own school, their value to homœopathic therapeutics is warmly acknowledged by the partizans of Hahnemann's great truth. *Sic vos non vobis* is perhaps poor consolation to offer, but it may be a comfort to them to reflect that their labours are not altogether lost, which they would be were there no homœopathic school to profit by them.

But in spite of the fruitlessness of their researches to the therapeutics of the dominant school, the experimental physiologists are believed in, not only by the medical profession, but, it would seem, by all scientists, so that for medical men the surest road to admission to the select precincts of the Royal Society is the reputation of having practised vivisection on an extensive scale, though the result of all this loss of time, labour and humanity may be nil or misleading, or the promulgation of some conclusions which are contradicted or upset by the next experimental physiologist.

dreadful," says one speaker, "if the lapse of several thousands of years were necessary in order to discover four more such remedies."

Therefore the Congress unanimously decided a search for bactericidal remedies should be made. It is not necessary to be a prophet in order to foresee that this mode of searching for medicines will be valueless to internal therapeutics. The allopathic principle, "much helps much," gains great support from these endeavours, so that there is every reason to anticipate that the allopaths will attack the diseased human body with strong, profoundly-acting medicines still more "energetically" than before.

Daily experience shows that the investigations instituted by orthodox medicine vastly increase the knowledge and the power of the physician. This advance depends partly on hygiene and partly on the development and extension

On the whole we may say that at the present time the adherents of old physic are not so antagonistic to homœopathy in Britain as they seem to be in Germany and elsewhere. We do not now meet with the same virulent and vulgar abuse of Hahnemann and his adherents as we observe in the anti-homœopathic writings of our German colleagues. The liberal spirit shown at the International Medical Congress in London in 1881 contrasts favourably with the conduct of the old school in America, and altogether homœopathy has attained in Britain a pleasanter *modus vivendi* with allopathy than it seems to enjoy in the Fatherland, which is strange when we consider that Germany was the fountain-head of the great therapeutic reformation, and that German medicine has had almost a generation longer to adapt itself to the new order of things than we have had. Perhaps the old saying, "the nearer the church the farther from grace," may find an illustration here. Still here, as in Germany, much remains to be done before homœopathy can enjoy the position in general medicine to which it is entitled; for its practitioners are still excluded from all the prizes and emoluments of the profession, from almost all the medical societies and to a great extent from professional intercourse with their otherwise-thinking colleagues. The conspiracy of silence with regard to homœopathy is strictly carried out in most of the periodicals, whether medical or literary, and if we are no longer openly persecuted, we are treated as *une quantité négligeable*, or only received on sufferance.—[ED.]

of mechanical treatment, which latter, however, threatens continually to overstep its limits.

The condition of allopathic internal medicine is thoroughly unsatisfactory to the physician. This coarse symptomatic treatment, this use of remedies which endanger both health and life, this unphysiological method, cannot but dishearten every thoughtful physician. Where can any sure help be found? The more zealously we penetrate into the matter the more we feel the want of firm ground under our feet, and the greater is the number of contradictions which confronts us. What long lists of medicines are recommended in all diseases without any precise differentiation of them! The endless recommendations of remedies dance like ignes fatui before the investigator; they appear and disappear, come into fashion and then go out of fashion.

All these different therapeutic systems and schools have waged war with homœopathy, have attacked it with the most unworthy weapons, have prophesied its downfall, and have themselves come to a disastrous end; but homœopathy stands firm, secure through its therapeutic results. Fashion does not prevail in homœopathy as in the opposite camp. The same remedies which Hahnemann used are still employed according to the same indications as before, though perhaps they are given with more precision, in consequence of the careful observations of many zealous and laborious medical men. Holding fast by the old proved remedies does not prevent the reception of new medicines, given in homœopathic preparations and doses. But the medicines of homœopathy are not subject to the caprices of fashion.

Here the exact sphere of action of each drug is discoverable, and if any one wishes to introduce a new remedy into therapeutics, the homœopaths require first a careful proving on the healthy organism and then an accurate description of the cases of disease in which it is used with advantage. Anatomical diagnosis is made use of as a help, but it is not sufficient for them. "There are no remedies for names of diseases," they say.

Homœopathy contains a treasure of valuable experiences, the outcome of the most careful observations; but the form under which they are offered at first excites the repugnance of the physician who has been educated allopathically (and we have all been brought up as allopaths), and this repugnance can only be overcome by earnest professional zeal.

But if we have once gained a deeper insight into it, all trouble is well rewarded by the results obtained at the sick bed, and the physician who was beginning to despair of therapeutics takes a pleasure in his profession which richly repays his labours. Here is a field in which the physician, by zealous study, can develope his therapeutic usefulness without being confused and disheartened by therapeutic contradictions.

Homœopathy has existed for more than seventy years, thousands of medical men practise it, millions of laymen are attached to it, and made enthusiastic by its success in the treatment of disease. The adherents of this system go on increasing in spite of enormous external hindrances. A large number of periodicals is published in all civilized languages exclusively devoted to this subject; its literature numbers thousands of volumes.

And it is attempted to upset such an established system of medicine by misrepresentations, by abuse, by denunciations, and by all sorts of unworthy odious machinations! A foolish enterprise!

Abandonment of their pernicious arrogance and of their blind respect for authority, self-knowledge and improvement of their own obvious faults, are what is required by the allopaths, and for this vulgar vituperation is a very poor substitute. When they have put their own camp in order they will cease to marshal their forces in order to attack Hahnemann's system, they will joyfully receive and assimilate its important and everlasting truths.

History will then recall the remarkable circumstance that the truth in therapeutics was discovered by medical practitioners who received no State-support, and that the universities which were established in order to search out

truth trampled upon this truth for many years, and wandered in the pernicious paths of therapeutic error.

Legislators whose medical counsellors are all allopaths, should weigh well the following facts:—Homœopathy is a power that must be reckoned with, since it has already millions of zealous adherents in Germany alone. If the allopaths had not been exclusively listened to, if the homœopaths had been admitted to free competition, the empire of the bleeding and purging therapeutics would soon have come to an end; the lives and health of many citizens which have, under the present conditions, fallen a sacrifice to allopathy, would have been preserved.

They should not permit themselves to be guided exclusively by allopaths who represent homœopathy as the enemy of science and of scientific investigation. Allopathic therapeutics is a pseudo-science, a science of the same sort as the phlebotomizing therapeutics. The allopaths of that day, with similar emphasis, called their treatment "scientific" and "rational," while they destroyed their fellow-creatures who regarded them as their saviours.

At present, too—as we saw above—health and life are too often sacrificed to allopathy. Is it always to be like this? Or does anyone suppose that the allopaths will, of their own accord, abandon their barbarous treatment in the coming centuries? Those who indulge this hope know little of the history of medicine.

Let homœopathy be admitted to free competition, let a position corresponding to its importance be given it in the hospitals, which the public will thankfully and extensively avail themselves of, and let the condition be attached that only medicines in homœopathic preparations shall be used, and that the occasional use of allopathic methods shall always be specially recorded. This would not be giving free licence to the ideas of a fantastic dreamer in a field where an earnest spirit of investigation should be at work for the preservation and restoration of the chief blessing of mankind. Homœopathy cannot be seriously compared with "sympathy and moonshine cures,"

notwithstanding the efforts of its opponents to establish its relation to these absurdities.

Those medical men who leave all to nature, the "nature doctors," ought to have an opportunity given them of demonstrating their right to exist, that is, if they can show a sufficient number of adherents among the public. An institution in which doctors had an opportunity of observing the healing powers of nature would be of great importance. Physicians would then have a *tertium comparationis* to enable them to estimate the value of the results obtained by their own peculiar treatment. So much misfortune would not have befallen mankind through medical men, if an opportunity had been given them of observing the action of the *vis medicatrix naturæ*.

The Universities ought to have gratefully received the offer of the "nature doctors" and their adherents. The fact that they scornfully rejected it throws no favourable light on their belief in their own powers.

The dispensing of medicines by the practitioner—this natural right of all medical men of whatever way of thinking—of which the allopaths make the freest use, in spite of the privileges of the apothecaries, in their employment of subcutaneous injections, ought to be allowed in the case of homœopathic medicines, the genuineness of which in the present state of analytic knowledge it is impossible to control. The allopathic apothecaries are the natural enemies of homœopathy, they have given proof upon proof that they ardently wish for the overthrow of this system, which they openly denounce as quackery; some even cheat the public who want homœopathic medicines, and hold it no sin to give their customers simple spirit instead of medicine. Some governments force the homœopaths into a disastrous dependence on their arch-enemies, and compel them to get their prescriptions dispensed by such hostile persons, who look upon it as a matter of no importance whether they are prepared well or ill. Is it not then a most just and fair demand that the homœopaths should be allowed to dispense their own remedies beyond the third or fourth decimal potency?

Any Government which seeks to put in practice the reasonable proposals we have just made will, indeed, raise a storm of indignation in certain quarters, but will confer a lasting benefit on mankind, and will both deserve and receive the thanks of the more enlightened of their contemporaries and of future generations.

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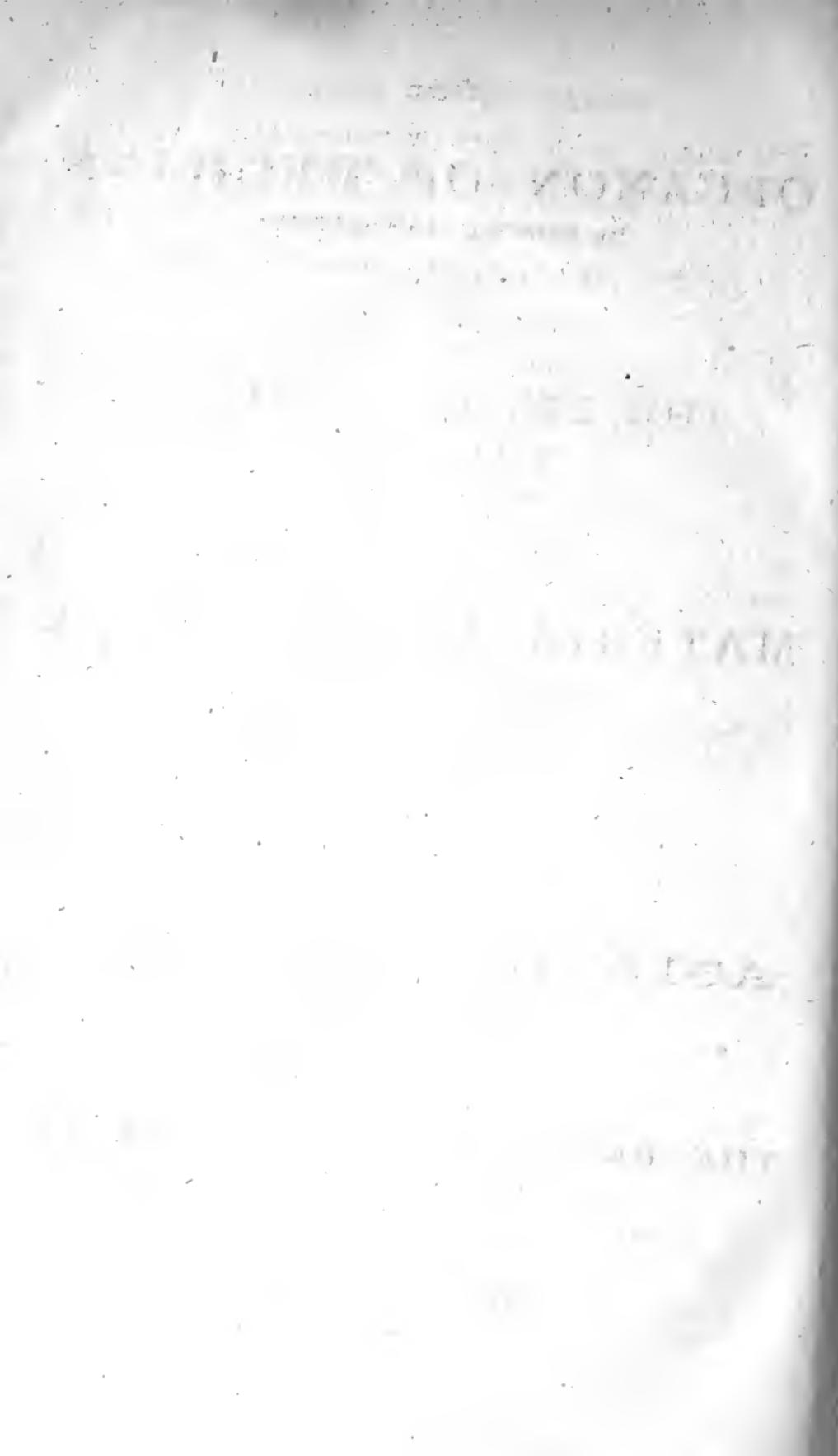
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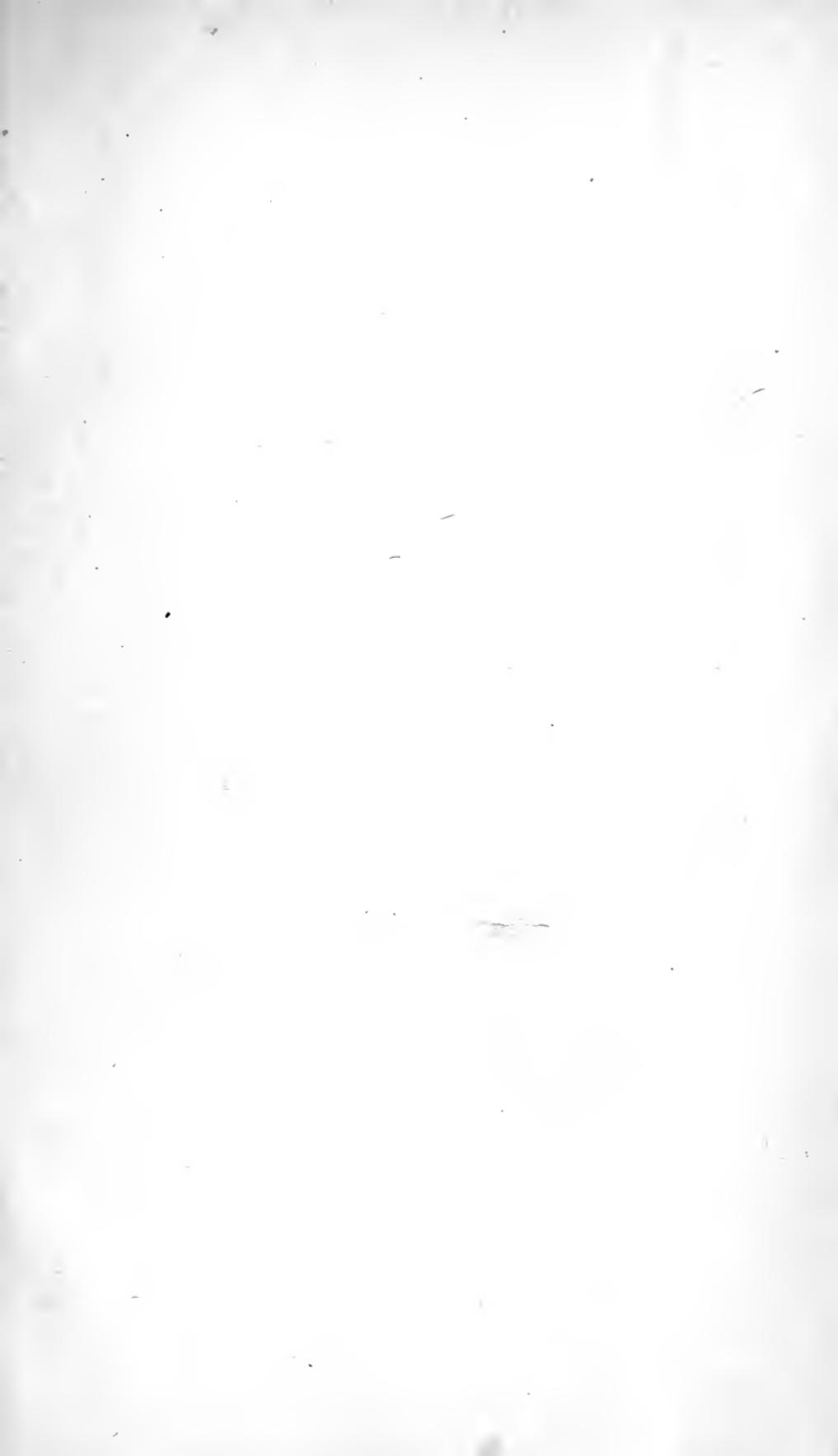
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